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# SOUTHERN FOLKLORE QUARTERLY

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# Southern Folklore Quarterly

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## THE SATIRIC USE OF "POPULAR" MUSIC IN LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST

by  
RAY B. BROWNE

LATELY MUCH SCHOLARSHIP on *Loves' Labour's Lost* has dealt with the satire. Critics believe it general,<sup>1</sup> that it is against Raleigh,<sup>2</sup> or his coterie of "gentlemen scientists and astronomers,"<sup>3</sup> that it "glances," among other things, at the Harvey-Nashe controversy.<sup>4</sup> But, as Yates admits, there are still "serious gaps" in our knowledge of the full extent of the play's satire. One element of this satire has hitherto largely, or wholly, escaped attention: Throughout the play "popular" songs are used to ridicule Armado.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, examination of the Harvey-Nashe quarrel in the light of this ridicule shows that Shakespeare is attacking, if not consistently at least more than incidentally, in the person of Armado, Gabriel Harvey; for Harvey and Nashe constantly used ballad and song references in their writings (1592-96) to vilify each other; and the playwright, aware of the notoriousness of the quarrel and of these ballad-song insults, knew that his satire would be recognized as an attack on Harvey.<sup>6</sup> Of the two satiric purposes, the ridicule of Armado was

<sup>1</sup>E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 336.

<sup>2</sup>Muriel C. Bradbrook, *School of Night; A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1936), p. 154.

<sup>3</sup>O. J. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1943), pp. 24ff.

<sup>4</sup>Frances Yates, *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1936), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>John Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music, A Study of the Music and its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1955), recognizes that the songs are used satirically but fails to develop the idea sufficiently.

<sup>6</sup>Identifying Armado with Harvey leaves three loose ends flying: (1) that

dramatically more significant, but the attack on Harvey was also important.

The Harvey-Nashe quarrel, which we must first examine for the ballad and song references and insults, grew out of the earlier one between Oxford and Sidney in 1579. Nashe entered it in 1589 with his Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (III),<sup>7</sup> where he implied that Greene was the best contemporary writer. Harvey entered the fight in 1592, writing against Greene in his *Four Letters*,<sup>8</sup> and incidentally answering Nashe's Preface. Harvey grouped Greene with Elderton, the ballad-monger, and thus began the line of vilification using ballads and songs as its basis that was to persist throughout the quarrel: "who like *Elderton* for Ballating: *Greene* for pamphletting; both for goodfellowship, and bad conditions?" (I, 163) They were two of a kind: "*Elderton* and *Greene*; two notorious mates, and the very ringleaders of the riming and scribbling crew" (I, 164); and on the next page, again he associates them closely: "Father *Elderton*, and his sonne *Greene*."

Nashe defended Greene, who was now dead, as well as himself in his answering *Strange News*, outdoing Harvey's attack in ballad-writing accusations. Harvey had said that there were some matters of note in his *Four Letters*. Nashe replied:

I agree with thee that there are in it *some matters of Note*, for there are a great many barefoote rimes in it, that goe as jumpe as a Fiddle with every ballet-makers note: . . . (*Strange News*, I, 265)

And he says that the sweetest music Harvey could hear would be his own name being chanted in the streets, a statement from which Shakespeare might have got the suggestion for having Armado want the ballad "The King and the Beggar" repopularized as precedent, or sung about Armado himself. (See p. 146.)

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Armado was made a Spaniard; (2) that he was just the kind of fop he was; and (3) that Nashe and Harvey were not the only persons at the time who insulted one another with accusations about being of ballad caliber. This paper is not designed to prove that Armado was Harvey *in every respect*, but that in the popular song connection evidence seems to show that Shakespeare was equating the two.

<sup>7</sup>For a full discussion see R. B. McKerrow's edition of Nashe's *Works* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1910), V, 65-110. All references are to this edition. For brevity, in the body of the paper I refer to the individual work by name and then follow immediately with the volume number from this edition, plus the page number. Where no misunderstanding can result, I also use *Ibid*.

<sup>8</sup>References to Harvey's works, cited in the same way as Nashe's, are to the A. B. Grosart edition (1884).

Elderton is again referred to: Harvey's and Elderton's ghosts "are at odds," Nashe says, because they are "rivals in riming." (I, 280).

Harvey's reply, *Pierce's Supererogation* (1503), was yet more vitriolic. Nashe was a "phantasticall rimester" (II, 53); his writings an "unprinted packet of bawdye, and filthy Rymes, in the nastiest kind" and his "brothell Muse" prostituted "her obscene ballatts . . ." (II, 91). "Shewe me any half page" of Nashe's writings, he says (p. 280), "without piperly phrases, and tinkery composition: . . ." i.e. ballad or song material.

Nashe is associated with another copious ballad-writer, Thomas Deloney. Nashe "disdaineth Thomas Delone, . . . and the common pamphletters of London . . . because they . . . hinder his scribbling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame . . ." (II, 280). Harvey perhaps annoyed Nashe most in this pamphlet when he said that his "Gentlewoman" "achieved some" strange "woonders" with this little rhyme:

The noddy-Nashe, whom every serving Swash  
With pot-iestes dash, and every whip-dog lash: (II, 327)

It apparently became notorious, for, says Harvey, "The rhyme is more famous then was intended" (II, 327). Nashe's parody, as we shall see, cut Harvey more deeply.

In Nashe's reply, *Have With You to Saffron-Waldon*, so strong had the ballad element in their vilification become that the title likely came from a ballad name. Two such ballads—"Have with ye to Florida" and "Have with you to Walsingham"<sup>9</sup>—are named in this pamphlet to insult Harvey. Gabriel Harvey and his brother Richard are associated with ballad-makers: For twenty-four years these Harvey brothers have "kept a hateful scribbling and a pamphleting about earthquakes" and other ballad topics, and "tooke upon them to be . . . Ballet-makers . . ." (III, 12). Harvey is called "*Jenkin Heyderry derry*" (III, 32), the name of a ballad tune in the 1590's.<sup>10</sup>

Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, Nashe says, should be compared

<sup>9</sup>In Hyder E. Rollins' *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-entries in the Register of the Company of Stationers, Stud. in Philol.*, V, XXI, no. 1 (1924), there is this entry (1085, p. 96): "'Have with you to Pimlico,' (April 24, 1609, iii, 407, Ino. Busby) (A book with a similar title was licensed on April 15 and May 3)." 'Have with you to Walsingham,' also called 'As I went to Walsingham,' or just 'Walsingham,' which Nashe refers to, is found in several places. See Chapell, *Popular Music*, I, 121.

<sup>10</sup>If this title equals "Hey down derry," as it likely does.

to nothing so aptly as "Africke," which is "overspread with barraine sands . . . Peruse but the ballet *In Sandon Soyle as late befell*<sup>11</sup> and you will be more soundlie edified by sixe parts" (III, 36). Again, (p. 63), Gabriel and Richard are referred to as "*Hoppeny Hoe* & his fellow *Hankin Booby*," apparently two ballads; *Hankin Booby* was a ballad as early as 1537.<sup>12</sup>

Harvey, Nashe said, always aspired to be a great ballad-writer. He began studying them early, and his first poetry was a ballad (see below p. 9). Harvey's teacher, Nashe continued, wrote to Harvey's parents that their son loved ballads above all other things (see below, p. 10). And, according to Nashe (III, 69), Harvey liked to write "on the births of monsters, horrible murders, and great burnings"<sup>13</sup>—that is, ballad subjects. Nashe attacks Barnabe Barnes, Harvey's friend: "If you will have anie rymes to the tune of stink-a-pisse,"<sup>13</sup> Barnes is your man. His *A Divine Centurie of Sonets* is such a "device . . . as the godly Ballet of *John Careless*, or the Song of Green sleeves moralized."<sup>14</sup> Later (III, 113) Nashe says that Harvey actually rewrote a ballad, "Anne Askew."

These attacks impressed themselves on the minds of the readers. But the following—because it rendered Harvey so foolish and was easily quoted or "sung"—undoubtedly was remembered vividly. Nashe stigmatized Harvey with this lasting accusation:

But O what news of that good Gabriel Harvey  
Knowne to the world for a foole and clapt in the  
Fleet for a Rimer? (III, 127)

Harvey's "Gentlewoman's" couplet against Nashe, the victim parodied effectively. For the earlier lines, Nashe would substitute

the tuftt or label of a rime or two, the trick or habit of which  
I got by looking on a red nose Ballet-maker that resorted to  
our Print-house. They are to the tune of *Labore Dolo*re, or the  
Parliament tune of a pot of ale and nutmegs and ginger, or  
*Eldertons* ancient note of *meeting the divell in conjure house  
lane*.<sup>15</sup> If you hit it right, it will go marvuellous sweetly.

<sup>11</sup>This ballad apparently has not survived.

<sup>12</sup>I have not found "Hoppeny Hoe," but for the latter see Chappell, *Popular Music*, I, 73.

<sup>13</sup>I have not found this tune.

<sup>14</sup>*John Careless* was entered in the Stationer's Register, to Ed. White, Aug. 1, 1586. For a copy see H. E. Rollins' *Old Eng. Ballads, 1553-1625* (Cambridge, Mass.: Univ. Press, 1920). For *Green Sleeves* see Chappell, *Old England Popular Tunes*, I, 239.

<sup>15</sup>These tunes I have not found.

Gabriel Harvey, fames duckling,  
 hey noddie, noddie, noddie:  
 Is made a gosling and a suckling,  
 hey noddie, noddie, noddie.

Or, that's not it, I have a better.

Dilla, my Doctor dear,  
 sing dilla, dilla, dilla:  
*Nashe* hath spoyled thee cleare  
 with his quilla, quilla, quilla. (III, 133)

No doubt such lines imprinted themselves so deeply on Nashe's readers that Shakespeare could call them up at will.

*Have with You* ended the attacks between Nashe and Harvey. But two other pamphlets should be considered. Nashe had humorously dedicated his last attack to Richard Lichfield, barber to Trinity College. In 1597 something of an answer appeared in the pamphlet *The Trimming of Tom Nashe*, likely by Lichfield. The author addresses "all ballet-makers, pamphleters," etc., suggesting that Nashe be their "graduate Captain generall in all villanies" (III, 67). He wants Nashe's ears trimmed and "ballads" made of "the moving of the ears" (III, 70). When Nashe is dying "al the Ballad-makers of London . . . will be there to heare his confession, and afterward make Ballads of the life and death of Thomas Nashe."

The other pamphlet is a ballad called "The Trimming of Tom Nashe," first published in Grosart's edition of Harvey's works (1884, III, xxxiv), but apparently contemporary with the Nashe-Harvey quarrel. In wretched seven-beat lines seemingly burlesqueing the ballad aspect of Nashe, or that aspect of the fight, the author says that among other "low" forms of literature, Nashe had read "Ballads innumerable" (III, xxxiv).

These two pamphlets show how notorious the ballad connection between Nashe and Harvey had become. In both cases, outsiders are beating the combatants with their own weapons. Clearly, then, the quarrel, which had lasted eight years,<sup>16</sup> was familiar to reading Londoners. The charges that each person was a ballad-writer or that his writings were as bad as or worse than ballads had grown harsher and

<sup>16</sup>Two years later it was still much in the air, as evidenced by the fact that on June 1, 1599 Whitgift and Bancroft ordered "that all Nasshes bookes and Doctor Harvyes books be taken wheresoever they maye be found and that none of theire bookes be ever printed hereafter." Arber, *Transcript of Stationers Co.*, III, 677.

more numerous in each successive attack. Shakespeare, therefore, satirizing Harvey in the person of Armado could surely depend on his "popular" song references being quickly understood.

## II

In Shakespeare's satiric use of songs in the play, two questions are important: (1) How did he use them to satirize Armado? and (2) Did he suggest to the audience that in Armado he attacked Harvey? We will answer these questions concurrently.

The play was undoubtedly "first performed," as Yate says (p. 169), "at a private house . . . before an audience of ladies and gentlemen."<sup>17</sup> Such people would have been familiar with the Nashe-Harvey quarrel, would have enjoyed Nashe's making Harvey a laughing stock, and could easily have seen in the satire on Armado an attack on Harvey. Satire on Gabriel Harvey and his brothers was common during the 1590's. Nashe cites two: "There was a Shewe," he says (III, 80), "made at *Clare-hall* of him and his brothers, called 'Tarrantantantara turba tumutuosa Trigonum,/Tri-Harveyorum, Tri-harmonia.'" And, "There was another Shewe made of the little Minnow his Brother, *Dodrans Dicke*, at Peterhouse, called '*Duns furens*, Dick Harvey in a frensie.'" Nashe is begging someone to reprove Harvey.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* Armado's part and the tone in which he will be treated are set soon after the opening. Following 175 lines of conversation about the vows to seek knowledge, Biron asks if there is to be no recreation. Yes, the King answers, Armado will provide the recreation: "And I will use him for my minstrelsy" (I.i.177).<sup>18</sup> Longaville adds: "Costard the swain, and he shall be our sport." Not yet having seen Armado, we know he will be associated with ballads and folksongs (minstrel material) and that he will provide "sport" for the gentility, as minstrels did. Dull and Costard soon enter with a letter from Armado to the King concerning Costard's breaking the rule against men fraternizing with women. It is significant that so soon in the play Armado is introduced through a letter, for Harvey was fond of the letter form and published *Two Letters, Three Letters, Four*

<sup>17</sup>Long says (p. 65): "The influence of Lyly apparent in its language and in its subject matter suggests that the comedy was written originally for a highly literate audience."

<sup>18</sup>Unless otherwise noted, all references to *LLL* are to Neilson and Hill *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, The New Cambridge Edition (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

*Letters*, and *A New Letter*.<sup>19</sup> Thus Shakespeare early is suggesting a likeness of Armado to Harvey, which grows as the play progresses.

The use of "popular" songs begins with Scene 2. Armado is already in love and melancholy. He quizzes Moth about the causes of melancholy. But this pumping is rhetorical. He knows himself in love and confesses it a few lines later, asking Moth for precedent for a soldier's loving beneath himself. This desire for precedent is another likeness of Armado to Harvey, who, Nashe said (III, 35), always dragged in the names of Sidney, Spenser and such great men to lend him support and authority. To Armado's request Moth names Hercules and Samson, and by the time the second is named, Armado is so blissfully detached that he can barely follow the conversation. But he never forgets his great need for example in loving beneath himself, and he finally reaches for the *ne plus ultra* of precedent: "Is there not a ballad, boy, of the King and the Beggar?" (I.ii.115).

Here three parallels between Armado and Nashe's picture of Harvey spring to mind, the first two very important. (1) Nashe said that Harvey always aspired to be a great ballad-writer:

Scarce nine yeres of age he attained too, when, by engrossing al ballets that came to anie Market or Faire . . . he aspired to be as desperate a ballet-maker as the best of them; the first frutes of his Poetry beeing a pittifull Dittie in lamentation of the death of a Fellow that . . . brake his neck. (*Have With You*, III, 63)

(2) More important, Armado is a student at the King's Academe; his favorite precedent is the ballad. As a student Harvey loved the ballad best of all literature, Nashe said, and his teacher wrote to his parents:

I can see no Authors he hath, more than his own natural *Genius* or *Minerva*, except it bee *Have With ye to Florida*, the *Storie of Axerxes* and the *Worthie of Iphijs*, *As I went to Walsingham*, and *In Creete when Dedalus*<sup>20</sup> a song that is to him food from heaven, and more transporting and ravishing than *Platoes* Discourse . . . Above *Homers* or all men's workes . . . he doth prize it. . . . (*Ibid.*, III, 67)

<sup>19</sup>About Harvey's love of the letter form, Nashe wrote (*Strange News*, I, 317): "From this time forth for ever, ever, ever, evermore maist thou be canonized as the Nunparreille of impious epistlers."

<sup>20</sup>Apparently only two of these ballads have survived: "As I went to Walsingham," on which see above note 9, and "In Crete when Dedalus," for which see H. E. Rollins (*RES*, III, 335-37).

Armado and Harvey are surely alike in prizing the ballad above other literary works. (3) In telling a story against Harvey, to convince the world of its truth and to anticipate Harvey's refutation, Nashe (*Ibid.*, III, 74) says it is "x times more unfallible than the news of . . . the raining of corne this summer at Wakefield." This as a ballad subject, and in comparing the truth of his story to that of a ballad, Nashe accuses Harvey of believing ballads.

As for Armado, Shakespeare is pointing out his lack of gentility, for only the vulgar accepted ballads as exemplifying behavior that one should emulate. Armado, however, either believes the ballad of the King and the Beggar represents a real happening, and therefore provides a true precedent, or he believes so strongly in the value of the ballad as authority that he is willing to emulate it, true or not. Either way, if the audience have already seen a similarity between Armado and Harvey, there is a special gibe in Shakespeare's having, as Taylor says,<sup>21</sup> "this caricature of the defender of classical meters" pass up Classical and Biblical authority for that of the ballad.

Armado's absurd belief in the ballad is intensified by the next two speeches. Answering the question about the ballad, Moth says: "The world was very guilty of such a ballad some three ages since; but I think tis not to be found; or, if it were, it would neither serve for the writing nor the tune" (I.ii.116ff).<sup>22</sup> Armado answers: "I will have the subject newly writ o'er, that I may example my digression by some mighty precedent" (I.ii.120ff). Here is a close parallel with one of Nashe's attacks on Harvey. Harvey's "Gentlewoman's" "Prologue," which attacked Nashe, was, he said (*Have with You*, III, 113), "only a fiction of his." It "is stolne out of the Ballet of *Anne Askew*," and the first line is changed from "I am a woman poore and blinde" to "O Muses, may a woman poore and blinde." Since the "Gentlewoman" is a fiction, Harvey rewrote the ballad himself.

Armado already sees the comparison of himself and Jaquenetta with the King and the Beggar maid. He wants the ballad "writ o'er"

<sup>21</sup>Rupert Taylor, *The Date of Love's Labour's Lost* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 38.

<sup>22</sup>"The King and the Beggar" was first published, as far as we know, in Richard Johnson's *The Crowne-Garland of Golden Roses* (London, 1612). But it was referred to in seven works other than *L.L.L.: Romeo* (Ql, 1597), where the reference is so casual it obviously depended on wider knowledge (II.i.14); *Richard II* (Ql, 1597), (V.iii.80); Deloney's *The Gentle Craft* (1597-98); Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour* (1598), (III.iv), where there is first mention of Cophetua's riches; Marston's *Scoureg of Villainy* (1598), which almost surely indicates the existence of a ballad similar to Johnson's version; 2 *Henry IV* (1600), (V.iii.100); and D'Avenant's *Wits* (1636), II.i).

so that it can be repopularized, will provide current example, and the world will see his precedent. Here again the playwright seemingly was paralleling a Nashe attack on Harvey. If the latter had taken his "rimes" and "tun'd them over the head," Nashe said, "it had beene nere the worse,"

For by that means you might have had your name chaunted in every corner of the street, then the which there can be nothing more *melodiouslie addoulce* . . . O they would have trowld off bravely to the tune of *O man in Desperation*. . . .<sup>23</sup> (*Strange News*, I, 265)

If Armado (or Harvey) cannot have his name chanted on the streets, Shakespeare is saying, at least he can have "his" deeds. As the scene continues Armado is made more ridiculous in wanting to sing when Moth wants to talk (I.ii.120-5).

Before we see Armado again Act II has intervened. Armado has just caught up with Moth and is demanding he do the singing he dodged earlier: "Warble, child: make passionate my sense of hearing," he says (III.i.1.). Moth replies: "Concolinel"<sup>24</sup> and Armado sighs, "Sweet air!" This reference to a "popular" song is used dramatically to make Armado ridiculous in love.

And this ridiculousness increases. To Moth's bit of worldly wisdom about the "French brawl," Armado answers by quizzing how he "purchased [his] experience" (III.i.27). Moth's answer, "By my penny of observation," undoubtedly brought to the audience's minds what it brought to Armado's—that in a penny ballad you can get a world of news, advice, and experience. Thus reminded of a ballad, Armado tries to remember one apropos, but can think only of the beginning of a line: "But O, but O—" Moth takes up this beginning and adds a line from another ballad more to his purpose: "The hobby-horse is forgot"<sup>25</sup> (III.i.30). In this passage, again, there is a close parallel

<sup>23</sup>Apparently only the name of this tune has survived. See Chappell, *Popular Music*, II, 770.

<sup>24</sup>Folio begins III.ii. with the stage direction "Song," and Armado's words are "Warble, child," etc. Quarto has simply "Concolinel." See footnote to Arden edition, p. 42.

<sup>25</sup>Hart (*Arden* edition, p. 45) says that "But O, but O,—the hobby-horse is forgot," is "a frequent lament, of which this is perhaps the earliest example." If this is the earliest example, Shakespeare might have been referring to two songs, and these were later confused into one. *NED* says that "The hobby-horse is forgot" is "a phrase apparently taken from some old ballad." Shakespeare is the only author to use the introductory words "But O, but O,—" before 1609.

with another of Nashe's attacks, when he talks of Harvey's "hobby-horse revelling and dominer" (*Have with You*, III, 73).

Dramatically this scene serves two purposes. It keeps the play closely knit by tying this scene to Act I, scene ii, through the continued use of "popular" song references. More important, it furthers the revelation of Armado's character through these songs. A silly ass madly in love, he fans his flames of passion highest with the airs of "popular" songs, and he is so conditioned to think in terms of such songs that he refers to them at every opportunity—like any other "commoner." Such conduct would surely bring down on his head the scorn of the "gentility."

We next meet Armado through his letter to Jaquenetta which has miscarried and is being read by Boyet. Again the ballad of "The King and the Beggar" is brought to the fore, Shakespeare using it to expose Armado's "gentility." When he first mentioned this ballad, Armado pretended to know none of it. Yet here, only a short time later, without his having learned further about it, he knows it from beginning to end. His earlier pretended ignorance—especially now that the audience can look back on the scene—is exactly the behaviour expected from a person playing the gentleman: he should not know ballads.

This letter further highlights Armado's pride and vanity. The theme of "The King and the Beggar" was the equalizing power of love—love the great democratizer. Cophetua fought only against love, not against the beggar-maid because of her low station. He was not proud. Armado, however, is both proud and vain when he turns to the ballad. He begins his letter in terms of love, but when he gets to the words "heroical vassal!" (IV.i.60ff), his vain heart protests against being "lower" than the wench, and he turns immediately to the ballad as being comparable to his situation. And he begins intimidating Jaquenetta:

The magnanimous and most illustre king Cophetua set eye  
upon the pernicious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon; . . . he  
came, saw, and overcame: . . . I am the king, for so stands the  
comparison; thou the beggar, for so witnesseth thy lowliness.  
(IV.i.65ff)

Armado's reiteration of the difference in status of the two shouts his extreme pride and vanity; his perversion of the ballad's real message to force Jaquenetta's love likewise is obvious.

Also Armado is trying to "buy" Jaquenetta by showing her what she would gain by loving him: "What shalt thou exchange for rags?" he asks, and answers: "Robes; for tittles? titles." There is a close

parallel here with the Nashe-Harvey fight. Harvey's teacher wrote to his parents. Nashe said, that Harvey's "laundresse complains of him that he is mightie fleshlie given, and that there had lewdnes past betwixt her daughter and him, if she had not luckily prevented it by searching her daughters packet" and finding "*Bradford's Meditations* . . . and a three-pennie pamphlet of *The Fall of man* he had bestowed on her, that he might stow her under the hatches in his study and do what he wold with her" (*Have with You*, III, 68). Apparently Armado's plans parallel Harvey's, for Jaquenetta is pregnant before marriage.

The intimidating tone of Armado's letter is modified somewhat at the end: instead of commanding Jaquenetta's love he entreats it. But the gentler tone vanishes as soon as he signs the letter, his bullying returns, and he appends his "sonnet" which tells how he, like the "Nemean lion," can easily overcome her (IV.i.90ff).

In thus emphasizing Armado's pride and vanity, Shakespeare again parallels Nashe's attack on Harvey. Hating him for his pride, Nashe accuses Harvey of "contemning his own birth" (*Ibid.*, III, 56), his father being a rope-maker (*Strange News*, I. 257). Such pride was ill-becoming, for "Agothocles, comming from a dust kneading potter to be King, would (in memorie of that his first vocation) be served ever after as well in earthen dishes as sumptuous royal plate" (*Have with You*, III, 58)—a humility resembling the king's and beggar's in the ballad. If the "lowly" Jaquenetta equals Harvey's "Gentlewoman," as she likely does, Shakespeare is cutting Harvey deeply by saying that to get any woman—even a "base" wench—he must force her. The audience would understand the similarities.

Here the songs drop out of the play temporarily. Shakespeare has accomplished his purpose through them. Armado began as an object of amusement in the eyes of the King and his friends: a "minstrel." But he pretended to be a gentleman, far removed from "lowly" minstrelsy; yet he looked for a ballad to guide his behavior. Despite all protests to the contrary, Armado is definitely of "popular" song caliber, and the audience knows it.

There remains one—very important—use of songs in the play: the medieval *debat* or contention between Spring and Winter at the end. In form these songs are "popular." And they round off the play in regard to the use of "popular" songs and in the satire of Harvey in the person of Armado. At a point fifteen lines before the *debat*, the logical ending for the play has been reached. In the satirical process outlined

by Campbell for the later comedies, all characters to be "saved" have had their folly exposed to laughter, have been purged and regenerated. Armado has shown his regeneration, has "seen the day of wrong" (V. ii.731ff). Next the King and his men are purged and regenerated, and as the Princess and her ladies start for home, the King and Biron "close" the play:

Bir. Our wooing doth not end like an old play;

Jack hath not Jill. These ladies' courtesy  
Might well have made our sport a comedy.

King. Come, sir, it wants a twelvemonth and a day,  
And then 'twill end.

Bir. That's too long for a play.  
(V.ii.884ff)

In "closing" the play, the King and Biron emphasize that this is not a regular comedy but another kind. At this point, Shakespeare has Armado rush back on stage and continue the play for a few minutes. The only dramatic reason for this ending is to make the ending of this irregular comedy Armado's.

Armado reaffirms his regeneration and is "to hold the plow" for Jaquenetta's "sweet love three year" (V.ii.892ff). Then he presents the *debat*, which contrasts two ways of life. First it pictures Spring, or Youth, when unmarried men in their freedom mock the married, who constantly fear being cockolded. Winter, however, tells of adulthood. In the winter of life a person must live fully. He should be married and at home, living in the midst of life and not afraid of or repelled by it. Milk freezes over, to be sure, Marian has a red raw nose, and greasy Joan keels the pot. But this is a part of the reality of life. This song, then, is a fitting conclusion to a play which has had as its central theme the humanizing of a group of people who have tried to put head over heart—intellect above a well rounded life.<sup>26</sup> They have submitted to love, and life will to a certain extent parallel that pictured in Winter's song.

But the *debat* has a deeper purpose. Armado receives the center of attention. Spring's song applies to all the characters. So does Winter's; but Winter's applies doubly to Armado. It is a country song. Resigned to his fate, Armado is going to live in the country with his "day-woman" Jaquenetta. His final speech indicates the parting of the ways

<sup>26</sup>Long (p. 78) says: "The relationship of the songs to the structure of the play" is "close." "They serve . . . for a final statement of the theme of the play. . . ."

between the "high" and the "low" characters: "The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo. You that way: we this way."

This final speech, which has caused scholars trouble,<sup>27</sup> serves a good purpose. Mercury was, among other things, the messenger of the gods and the conductor of people on the road—one who pointed out the right road to be taken. In this light, Armado's words are clear. The gods—or Fate—have sent Mercury to tell Armado his fate and to conduct him on his future road, a road different from that of the genteel persons in the play, which he liked. Their way of life was a song of Apollo. But he must go a different way. Naturally Mercury's words are "harsh."

This explanation parallels a Nashe criticism of Harvey; and if Shakespeare is satirizing Harvey the play should end on a note about him. Nashe criticized Harvey for having the temerity ever to leave the country and come up to London. His last printed attack was named *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*. /OR/ Gabriell Harveys hunt is up (my emphasis). "Have with you," meant emphatically "GO!" Hence Shakespeare is showing Harvey purged of social aspirations and desire for city life and going back to the country, where he belongs.

Shakespeare's use of "popular" songs in the play, then, served two purposes: (1) to provide a theme on which to hang the character development and expose of Armado, who—in this aspect—represented Harvey; and (2) to show the final disposition of the purged and regenerated man. This satiric use is similar to the technique Campbell sees in the later comedies (*Troilus* and thereafter): Armado is shown as the object of scorn, he is purged, and then presented as reformed.

<sup>27</sup>Chambers (I, 338) says: "Mercury has nothing to do with what precedes." Hart (*Arden*, p. 183): "Armado's meaning is that the most eloquent prose is unacceptable after such divine music." See also Richard Noble, *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), pp. 33-36, and Bertrand Bronson, "Daisies Pied and Icicles," *MLN*, LXIII, 35-38.

## PATTERNS OF CHILD NAMING IN TENNESSEE DURING THE DEPRESSION YEARS

by  
George C. Grise

THE NAMES WHICH PARENTS give to their children are significant clues to the interests and ambitions which they have. They also indicate geographic origin as well as the ebb and flow of national heroes, pride of family, and other social phenomena.

Though I am very much an amateur at research into such matters, they have interested me for some time and I wish to contribute a mite of research to what real scholars in the field have done. This is a limited study based on questionnaires answered by some 700 white freshmen at Austin Peay State College, all of whom were born between 1935 and 1940. Nearly all of them are native Tennesseans. The few who are not are from adjoining counties in Kentucky where naming patterns seem to be the same though a child across the border is more likely to be named Alben Barkley Johnson and the one in Tennessee to be named Kenneth McKellar Kistler.

Apart from the actual names themselves is the interesting sociological fact that such a large number of those studied had no idea where their names had come from. This may also be some indication of source, since one would be inclined to assume that when children are named for relatives or close friends, their parents make sure that the child is made aware of the fact. Of the boys 35% could not account for their first name, and 32% did not know about their middle name. Among the girls the percentages were also high but significantly different from the boys'. A comparable 37% did not know about their middle names, but a much smaller 21% failed to have information about their first names. This may reveal that girls' first names are given with more awareness of a particular person for whom they are named than are boy's names, but that girls' middle names are derived from other sources, perhaps being added merely for the sake of euphony as more girls go by their double names than boys do. It might be well to mention here that of all those studied fewer than 4% had only one given name. One girl with a single name, Ann, said she was named for all four of her great grandmothers. Surely, we would say, that will make the name stick. What is she called? "Red." Which leads to further wondering about the why and how of nick-naming as a

most interesting study in this field. Among the girls there was a great popularity for the middle name Ann, but no single other name stood out among either boys or girls. Also of interest here is the fact that only two students had double middle names. [I would be glad to know if this pattern of single middle names is or is not true in other places.]

A relative or relatives provided roughly half of all names, 53% for the boys and 48% for the girls. It would appear that the desire for family continuity, pride of ancestors, and fear that names might otherwise die out have contributed to this high percentage. Not to be discounted, however, are the possibilities that the proper name might get a son included in Uncle John's will and the natural laziness which more easily picks family names than any others.

Among the boys we see considerable desire for perpetuation of the father's name. Whether this was the desire of the father or of the mother is not shown by the study, for it was not believed the subjects could accurately report this information. At any rate, of those named for relatives, 35% of the boys were named for their fathers. Strangely enough, however, among the girls named for relatives, only 15% were named for their mothers. This difference is accounted for in measure by the tendency to make sons into Junior's, but there are many who have their father's first name who have a different middle name.

Perhaps the reason for this difference is found in the greater influence of grandparents on the naming of girls than on the naming of boys. Among the boys the grandparents accounted for about half as many names as fathers, while among the girls the situation is reversed, with the grandparents contributing twice as many names as the mothers. Aunts showed a greater influence on girl naming, too, than uncles did on boys.

Perhaps this going farther out along the family tree limbs for names for girls represents the mother's desire to perpetuate certain cherished family names either as names or as symbols of family identification in compensation for losing her family name in the marriage agreement. For perhaps the same reason a considerable number of boys have for their middle names the mother's maiden name.

Relatives, including fathers, mothers, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins constitute the majority of name sources for those who know where their names come from. No other classifications are of great proportions, but perhaps the most interesting name patterns come from the less popular groups. The fact that last year I saw Rudy

Valee Gilliam graduate from high school and have met no other with this same elderly singer's name is not a fact to be discarded lightly. There must be a great natural reluctance on the part of parents to go outside the names "we have always had in the family," particularly to pick that of a far-off, personally unknown celebrity. That this mother—obviously it was the mother—was brave enough to do it is merely a hint of what other mothers of 20 years ago would have done if they had been brave enough.

There is not so much reticence about naming children for movie stars, however, but there are still not many in this region who are so named. Perhaps there are decided class differences in such naming which this study does not reveal but which haphazard observation confirms. The naming of children for celebrities seems to occur more in the lower economic and educational levels. Among the movie stars we have had on our campus the namesakes of Carol Lombard, Gary Cooper, Loretta Young, Marlyn Stuart, Claudette Colbert, and Ronald Coleman.

Among politicians and statesmen the names chosen represent definite shades of belief and geographic location. This study finds that the following have unwittingly lent their names to our students: Ben Franklin, Alben Barkley, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert Taylor and Gordon Browning (Tennessee governors), Kenneth McKellar, Robert E. Lee, and Sam Rayburn. Is it any surprise that there is not a single Herbert from this era?

Other celebrities who have had their names lifted are Kit Carson and "Schoolboy" Rowe and Billy Terry, baseball players. The namesakes of the last two were probably great disappointments to their fathers as Mickey (Cockrane) Mantle was not. Richard the Lion Hearted accounted for one name, also. One student said she was named for a Greek goddess, and I still have not convinced her of the Trojan nativity of Cassandra.

Biblical characters and words and saints of the church still contribute a small number of names, but one suspects that their use is waning, as is that of the names of ministers. Among those mentioned are Paul, St. Gregory, Omega, Ruth, Samuel, Leah, and Joel. Two said they were named for the Virgin Mary. One boy hastened to explain that his Dwight came not from the obvious source but from Dwight L. Moody.

Family doctors have had themselves immortalized in numerous of the babies they have delivered or ministered to. Whether this indicates great respect for the profession, a tendency to let the doctor name

the child because the father is too excited, or is a token in lieu of money for obstetrical care one can only guess. Gratitude toward a doctor definitely played a part in one name certainly, when the parents named one of our students after a doctor who saved them once during a flood.

Great tolerance or the desire to live dangerously permitted three girls to be named for former sweethearts of their fathers. Uncles' girl friends also contributed their names. One mother is recorded as giving an old sweetheart's name to her son and one aunt's boy friend was brought into the family against his will as a middle name.

We would like to find that literature had been the source of many names for children of this student generation, but such is not the case. Of the few named from magazine stories or novels, few are recognizable because of the ephemeral and, one suspects, cheap nature of the writing.

Augusta Evans' *St. Elmo* has given us two Elmo's among the subjects of this study, but the day of the Edna Earl's seems to be over, for not a single one appears.

Almost nobody has been named for school teachers, if this study is any indication, though one mother who was a teacher named her child for one of her students. Radio programs have contributed one or two names. Though he was not a subject of this study, it is of interest that a local resident known rather widely in some circles is Roy Acuff, whose middle name is Claxton. He was named for Dr. P. P. Claxton, former U. S. Commissioner of Education and former president of this college. Roy's mother was a great admirer of this educator, who is reported to have also given his name to a colored child in Oklahoma who struggles along as Dr. P. P. Claxton Johnson.

The calendar date of birth accounted among our students for two Noel's, one June, one Eva (Christmas Eve), and Roberta (Robert E. Lee).

The superstition of marking a child during pregnancy by the mother's interests shows up in two girls named for characters in books their mothers read while carrying them. A similar case is indicated by the mother who chose a first name for her daughter from that of a burlesque dancer she saw during her pregnancy. The self-consciousness of her choice is indicated by her adding to this a middle name from the Bible!

The scientific age in which we are living may produce a few children named Einstein, Von Braun, or Oppenheimer, but the depression

years did not pay much attention to such "heroes." The only one I have recorded is a Newton from Sir Isaac.

The Dionne quintuplets contributed the name of Yvonne. Todd, a county, and Rhea, a local politician, influenced two Kentucky names. Margaret Mitchell is responsible for one Scarlet, Miss Dragonette for Jessica, and Wade Hampton for Hampton. One mother named her daughter Dorothy after a sand and gravel boat which plied the waters of the Cumberland River in front of their house. Where Dew Drop Dunn came from I have not found out, for she left school un-studied, but it is reported that she was named by her aunt, Rosebud!

A further study of twin names would be interesting, particularly to see if there is a sizable proportion of them who have rhyming names. The only two sets I have recorded are Lynda and Glynda, and Ray and Fay. Casual observation, again, recognizes this as a recurring, though not a majority, pattern.

Though this study dealt primarily with the sources of the names, an additional bit of information concerns the reactions of the students to their names. At least 100 of the 700 expressed violent disapproval of one or both their names. They called them "old fashioned," "sissy," "countrified," or "just can't stand it." Such names as Glenworth, Beulah, Greta, Omega, Molly, Etta, Polly, Bertha, and Agnes were among those mentioned.

Who are the national heroes at a particular time? What is the influence of the Bible on the thinking of a people? What literature impresses them? What do they think of their relatives? What sounds appeal to them? If you would know the answers to these and an endless variety of other questions, study carefully the naming habits of parents for therein are clues to be found in few other places, clues all the more valuable because the parents who put them there were unconscious of the fact.

Will those who now dislike certain of their names change the patterns when they name their children, or will other considerations cause them to perpetuate names which they do not now like but later will approve of for others? Only the future can tell, and we will know only as many persons informally or formally study the process. Fortunately, this is a field of investigation open to all school teachers and particularly adaptable to their daily tasks. I commend its doing as enjoyable and its results as important. May there be many who will undertake it.

*Austin Peay State College*

## NOTES ON THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE FLORIDA SEMINOLES

by  
Irvin M. Peithmann

THE MATERIAL COMPILED in this paper is the result of two years study and observations while working and living among the Seminole Indians of southern Florida. Due to the vast area in which these Indians live, many thousands of miles were covered during the two-year period of this research.

Many aspects of their culture were studied and observed during this period, especially the clinging to old traditions by the older Indians and the discarding of many of the old customs by the younger resulting from contacts on the outside and education.

This study was partly stimulated by previous work of researchers dealing primarily with the folklore of these people. Since little or no studies have been made during the past decade concerning cultural changes, the author, after visiting among these Indians during December 1955, became interested in the changes taking place.

A Southern Illinois University Graduate Council grant enabled the author to return to Florida and complete material for a book about these Indians. Studies and observations made during this period, 1956-57, showed noticeable cultural changes especially among those living on reservations. Observations made during this time brought out facts that more changes in living habits had taken place during this period than at any other time in their history due to the impact of our modern civilization. Many of these Indians began to discard old traditions by accepting Christianity and education for their children. While many of the older Seminoles continue with their old traditions and way of life, the younger generation is quickly taking to the ways of their white neighbors. The gradual acceptance of education and Christianity has possibly been the greatest factor in changes that are taking place in the Seminole society. Many examples will be cited in this paper of changes taking place as a result of the younger boys and girls attending school.

When the first contacts were made with the Seminoles several years ago, there existed an element of curiosity concerning the motives of these visits. Under these adverse circumstances little could be learned

outside of general observations concerning their living habits and behavior. It was not until later contacts were made that they did not resent the author's presence. Of primary importance, one must be on friendly terms in order to understand and recognize certain social traits and habits in their society. After their confidence is gained, there are no gentler people to work with. There are other characteristics of these people that differ from our everyday contacts in our society. If you asked an Indian to go with you and he says "No, not today, but tomorrow," he will invariably keep his word. If you offer him a bribe to change his mind, it will insult him.

Another grant from the Graduate Council made it possible to return during November and December 1957. The greatest effort and time was spent among the Cow Creek or Muskogee speaking group living on Brighton Reservation, northwest of Lake Okeechobee, and the Mikasuki, Hitchiti speaking group living on the Big Cypress Reservation, over one hundred miles farther south. Occasional visits were made to the Dania Reservation, near Dania, where the Department of Interior and Seminole agency headquarters are located and administer all the affairs concerning the Indians living on reservations of Florida.

Several trips were made visiting among the Mikasuki Indians living along the Tamiami Trail. These Indians, called by their reservation kin "Trail Indians," cater to the tourist trade. The nature of their villages, depicting the old rather than the new trend, would give a false impression to the researcher seeking facts. Since these Indians consider themselves separate groups from their reservation relatives, little can be learned from them outside of their present day living habits. They, more so than the reservation Indians, still wear the colorful dress worn years ago by men and women to attract tourists. Of the two groups living along the trail, the band headed by the medicine man, Ingraham Billie, resent any interference by white men. Their only desire is to be left alone where they can continue with their native customs without interference. A recent visit by Governor Leroy Collins to another group headed by Buffalo Tiger only stiffened the formers' resistance toward help from the white men.

The Florida State Government wanted to give them land, but Ingraham Billie's band stated that it would "Violate the orders of their God." This group only wants to be left alone. They probably will rebuff all attempts in the near future to send their children to school and other aid that may be offered to them. Their reservation

kinfolk leave them alone because their traditions and resentments have hindered programs toward a working agreement between the reservation Seminoles and the Florida State Government.

On August 21, 1957, the Florida reservation Indians voted to establish a constitution and a charter which would give them a self-elected council. Of the total of 448 Indians eligible to vote there were only five dissenting votes cast. Reverend Billy Osceola of Brighton Reservation was elected their chief; the first in over one hundred years. Seven others were elected Council Men at Large. This governing body is now known as the Seminole Tribal Council of the Seminole Tribe of Florida. On January 4, 1958, at a meeting near Dania, it was activated and accepted by both Federal and Florida state government representatives. It now legally represents the Indians in negotiating with Federal, State, and local government agencies, concerning tribal affairs in Florida.

The council of tribal officers will have territorial jurisdiction over Dania, Big Cypress, and Brighton reservations and will be empowered to enact ordinances for the health, safety, and welfare of the Indians.

Due to the fact that these Indians do not own land in Florida, they live in camps and villages on the reservations and other places in the Everglades. These camps consist of several closely related families, generally an older couple and several married daughters, their husbands and children. Since their society is matrilineal the mother is considered the head of the household. The advantage of this kind of communal living is simple living habits. The older women stay in camp taking care of the children, while daughters and husbands work elsewhere to supplement the family income. In late years, the older people receive old age pensions. Unwed mothers and widows with children receive ADC (aid to dependent children).

An Indian having five hundred dollars in the bank and a hundred head of cattle is considered wealthy by the Seminole. They are a self-sufficient people and do not live a hand-to-mouth existence. Almost every family group has a few chickens and several razorback type brood sows, which produce litters of pigs that keep meat in the pot the year round. No cost is involved in keep these animals, since they run on free range feeding on acorns and roots. The meat diet is varied, as there is a plentiful supply of fish and wild game, such as wild turkey, deer, and the land or gopher turtle.

Living in a warm climate, the men dress very simple in shirts and pants, and the women in home-made clothing from print materials.

Traditional clothing of the colorful patchwork design is now being replaced by modern print material with a few strips of patchwork designs to signify the Seminole origin. The traditional colorful dress of the Seminoles originated with the introduction of the sewing machine late in the 19th century. The full sleeve of the men's jackets and the cape worn by the women, formerly of cotton and silk are now made of nylon materials, probably originated from influence during the Spanish occupation of Florida over a century ago. Within the past few years the trend has been away from the colorful garments so unique in the Seminole society. Now the younger reservation Indians are wearing these only on special occasions, and others have gone over to white man's attire completely. Today, most of the colorful men's jackets and women's skirts are being made for sale to tourists.

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board, controlled by the Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., is interested in promoting the sale of genuine Indian craft items. The Seminole Crafts Guild located at Brighton Reservation sells colorful skirts and jackets, dolls and other items made by the Indians. The sale of these Indian made items brings considerable income to the Indians living in the area.

The Glade Cross Mission at Everglades, concessions in and near Miami and Indian villages located along the Tamiami Trail, have Seminole made articles for sale to tourists.

When compared to their white Florida neighbors, the Seminole living standards are low. Since several families live in a camp or village, they share a communal life. The men and women work at various jobs in the area. The men drive trucks on road building projects, and are mechanics and parking lot attendants, in the nearby cities and towns. Other men and women work part-time on the large vegetable farms at a daily wage of five or six dollars to supplement the family income. Most of this work is seasonal during the planting and harvesting of the tomato crop in the area. Other Indians work in the tourist attractions on the east coast in and near Miami as alligator wrestlers.

Many changes have taken place since the writer first contacted these people in 1955. Electricity, which had been available to those living on reservations, was first used only for lighting purposes. The young children in school and older Indians working away from the reservations learned how to operate and use modern appliances. Financial means rather than tradition has kept many of the Indians from acquiring and using these new conveniences so necessary in our society.

As rapidly as financial means will allow, the gas stoves are replacing the old traditional outdoor fire hearths.

Automobiles and pick-up trucks have been used for a number of years. They were the first modern conveniences obtained and used by these people in a region where they must travel long distances to trade and to visit relatives living in widely separated areas. Other changes are the abandonment of the old-time phonograph for modern radios, and T.V. sets have been noted in homes of the "better-off" Indians. Although many of the older women still cling to the hand cranked and foot driven sewing machines, several women now own and use portable electric sewing machines. The Indians are beginning to buy automobiles, gas stoves, washing machines, radios, and other modern conveniences on the installment plan. They, too, are becoming modern Americans and are troubled with the same problems that confront many of us in money matters.

The first Baptist Indian mission work among the Seminoles was started in 1936 near Fort Lauderdale by an Indian Baptist missionary from Oklahoma. Two converts were made at this time. Since this was the first attempt to Christianize them, missionary work progressed very slowly until about 1946, when mission churches were established at Dania, Brighton and Bip Cypress reservations. These churches have a small membership, considering the number of Indians living on these three reservations. Only a small minority have affiliated themselves with this movement. Most of the Indians still observe their traditional Green Corn Dance. From time to time, a few of the older Seminoles join the church.

The religious practice of people, whether Christian or non-Christian, is a controlling factor in their lives. The Seminoles who have embraced the Christian religion are faithful church goers and have discarded all former vices, such as smoking and drinking. The use of liquor by the Indians has been considered one of the greatest evils and is still a serious social problem.

The religion of these people is of the emotional type, with every church service having the aspects of a revival meeting. The mission churches are the center of all social activities where all members take part. Because of this many of the younger Indians have accepted religion with enthusiasm. The ones that have joined the church are the most likely to be able to understand the English language, as a part of every church service is in this language. Many of the old "die-hards," although refusing to have anything to do with church activi-

ties, allow their children to join. When an Indian accepts the Christian religion it is real to him and not taken for granted. This is true among Indians who still believe in their old religion. The mission churches are partly supported by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Rev. Genus Crenshaw, living near Dania, assists the minister of the mission church at Big Cypress Reservation. Rev. Sam Tommy, Josie Billie and other lay ministers assist in church work on the reservation.

Religious differences often separate people, and this is especially the case of the Florida Seminoles. The Indians who cling to their old religious beliefs are often at odds with the Christian or church-going Indians. Families closely related are quite often not on speaking terms because of these differences. However, the church-going Indians are more tolerant than those who cling to the old religion. Habit and tradition still play a powerful role in the everyday life of these colorful people.

Deaconess Harriet Bedell, Episcopalian missionary, lives at Everglades, and from Glade Cross Mission works among the Mikasuki Indians living along and near the Tamiami Trail. She has been working among these people for the past twenty-seven years. No regular church services are held, but she visits among the Mikasukis in their villages and camps. At the present time, an old deserted Indian village has been repaired and the Indians now use it as a meeting place for group work and church festivals, such as Christmas parties when gifts are exchanged. Deaconess Bedell has had many years of previous experience in Indian mission work before coming to Florida. She spent a number of years working among the blanket Cheyennes in Oklahoma and with Indians in Alaska. Her approach toward Christianizing these Indians is somewhat different from that of the Baptists. The purpose of the Glade Cross Mission is to help these Indians with their everyday problems such as selling articles made by the women at the mission. No attempt is made to get the Indians to abandon their old tribal beliefs and customs, but rather through her Christian influence and teachings, Deaconess Bedell assists those that are in need of food and clothing. The Indians have a very high regard for this missionary and she is called by them, In-co-shop-ee, Woman of God. Seldom a day passes without several Indian families coming to Glade Cross Mission to ask for assistance.

During the first year of this research, no attempt was made toward making tape recordings. Some of the older Indians resented the

idea when it was mentioned. After gaining the confidence of some of the younger Indians, in November 1957 consent was given to make recordings of some of their church services. After hearing some of these recordings, other Indians became interested and interviews were arranged. Since no complete recordings had been made of the Hunting and Green Corn Dance songs, several young Indians consented to sing the songs they knew. Later, one young man whose father had been the song leader in previous years, consented to have some of his friends sing the songs connected with the ceremonials of the yearly Green Corn Dance. These Indians are now Christian or church-going Indians and no longer attend this old traditional yearly festival. The songs were recorded in the Muskogee language during December 1957. No attempts were made to get recordings from non-church going Indians as they still consider these songs sacred and never sing them in the presence of white men. Recordings made at Big Cypress Reservation consisted of native Indian and Christian songs and a sermon in the Mikasuki tongue.

Language barriers do exist among the Florida Seminole. At the time this study was made, informants were hired to act as interpreters in interviews with older Indians who had only a limited knowledge of the English language. Two slide lectures were presented to the Indians at Brighton and Big Cypress Reservation mission churches. These slides were taken on previous visits to Florida and Oklahoma of Indians living there. They were extremely pleased to see these and many comments were passed among themselves during the presentation. At Brighton, the interpreter was a Muskogee Seminole and at Big Cypress the interpreter was a Mikasuki speaking Indian. At a cattlemen's meeting held at Brighton Reservation late in November 1957, the Indian agent read the proposals for a new canal and other business in the English language. It was then interpreted by a Muskogee speaking and a Mikasuki speaking Indian to the assembled Indians from the three reservations.

Many of the reservation Indians own cattle. The original herds were started with loans from the government and repaid from sales at a later date. These animals have been branded with the owners brand and graze on the reservations. At roundups which take place several times a year, the calves are branded and checked for ticks. The cattle are sold through a Livestock Marketing Association assuring the Indians a fair price. Sales from these cattle bring their biggest income to the Indians. It also provides work throughout the year for a number

of Indian cowboys who look after them. At the present time there are 5,000 cattle grazing on about 40,000 acres on Brighton Reservation, and 1,500 head grazing on 42,000 acres on Big Cypress Reservation. The latter, due to its swampy terrain, is not as well adapted to cattle raising as Brighton Reservation.

The government owns the land where the camps of the reservation Indians are located. There should be provisions whereby these Indians could obtain title to a certain number of acres. On this acreage they could then build modern improved type houses or homes with the right to deed or to assign to heirs. This would be an incentive toward acquiring homes which the younger Indians desire to live in. Until this is achieved, they cannot borrow money to make permanent improvements. As long as the present situation exists, there can be no general improvement of primitive living conditions that exist in their camps at the present time. The idea of owning land was suggested to several of the older Indians and their only comment was "Then we will have to pay taxes." It was pointed out to them that they now pay taxes on all items such as gasoline, automobiles, and other materials bought, and that paying taxes on real estate was their assurance that they could call the land they live on their own, which would be better than the present conditions under which they are living.

Many young Indians have left the reservations and are now living many miles away in urban centers. They are for the most part working as unskilled laborers. Their income is not on a level comparable with other groups. As a result, Indian families live in low rent housing which is little improvement over the housing of their relatives on the reservations.

Within the past two or three years in almost all of the camps on the reservation frame-type-houses have made their appearance. These are fast replacing the old traditional open thatch covered chickee. They are unfinished inside; have rough floors and some have the thatch roof instead of shingles. A few Indians have built homes of concrete blocks covered with a modern shingle roof. Most of these small houses are now equipped with gas stoves and other modern cooking equipment and used mainly for cooking purposes.

The young girls in school are keenly interested in home economics and home demonstration classes and are very anxious to have their families acquire modern conveniences. After attending these classes in school, they see the value of using modern gas stoves, instead of the old traditional outdoor fire-hearths. At present homes with bathrooms

or running water are unknown. However, as these young Indian girls reach marriageable age, they no longer wish to wash their clothes in the old way over a log in a swamp pool as their mothers have done for generations, but hope for washing machines. They are learning the art of cleanliness and now wash their clothes in tubs with a scrub board, using modern detergents.

For many years the culture of the Seminole did not change to any great extent. Due to the environment and isolation in which they lived, their old way of life remained unchanged. Water transportation was by dugout boat. A few Indians owned ox teams for overland travel during dry seasons. When the white men invaded the swamplands and began digging canals for drainage purposes, the modern highways such as the Tamiami Trail followed, thus the isolation of these Indians ended.

The establishment of Federal reservations and government sponsored schools were the first overtures made by the government to aid these swamp dwellers.

The history of the Seminoles parallels that of other southeastern tribes where remnants of former groups refused to leave and hid out. Living in this vast expanse of the Florida Everglades, they were left to fend for themselves. As a result, their descendants became self-sufficient in their forced isolated environment.

About the time Spanish Florida was purchased in 1821 by the United States, the Seminole numbered about 5,000. Within 35 years, due to wars, extermination, and forced migration in their conflicts with the whites, The Indians had been reduced to about 200. Two groups remained, the Muskogee (Cow Creek) and Mikasuki groups or bands living in widely scattered areas of the Everglades. For many years the population remained about the same. During the past few years the population has increased, due to modern medical facilities available to them. The present day descendants now number approximately 1,000. This increased number has created many problems for the Seminoles in their competitive existence with white neighbors.

Among the Florida Seminole there has been very little inter-marriage with other races in recent years. Observations made at Brighton and Big Cypress reservations produced the following data: A Seminole woman has married a Puerto Rican man. They have one child. Several white men have married Indian women in recent years, and two Indian men have married white women, these occurring in the urban Miami area. There are eight unwed Indian women with

children. Several of these children have white fathers. These women receive aid to dependent children from the Florida State Government.

During pregnancy, most all of the young women are under the care of a white physician and go to modern hospitals in nearby towns at the time the child is born. This has been a contributing factor in the rapid population increase.

There is a real need for adult education programs. The only education available for adults at the present time is through films supplied by the Baptist Church. Reading matter in the form of bulletins and magazines are made available, but do not attain their full value because of the high illiteracy. Few Indians over 25 years of age have ever attended school and therefore cannot read or write. Daily newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines are not read to any great extent by the Indians who can read and write. Most of the reading material is religious bulletins used by church members.

Observations concerning the Seminole children in regard to their interest in modern comic books is no different than that of white children. Every time they get together, they exchange these books until they have been passed around. New ones are continually being bought at news stands in the neighboring towns. Church periodicals and bulletins furnished by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention are eagerly read by the church members who can read English. The English speaking members read and interpret the contents of these bulletins in the Seminole language to those who cannot read.

In spite of the fact that the Indian children have been integrated into the Florida school system in the past few years, social barriers do exist between the Seminoles and some of their white neighbors.

These younger Indians who are accepting the ways of their white neighbors by sending their children to school and working for the white men in competitive jobs are struggling to find the answers to a better way of life. As they discard old ideas and ancient concepts they are in a revolution where self-determination plays a leading role in their present everyday living.

As the younger children start to school, especially high school, and come in contact with the outside world, they become conscious of being discriminated against. Anti-social attitudes exist and in many instances they are barred from restaurants and other public places. This attitude is hard for them to understand and develops a feeling of insecurity. The young Seminole students are patriotic and have

taken the Pledge of Allegiance. In school they have studied the Bill of Rights and do not understand why they are not always accepted as equals in our society. They cannot understand why they are considered in many places on the level of other minority groups. They bitterly resent these attitudes in a land that once belonged to their ancestors.

The present status of the Florida Seminole includes no compulsory military service. There has been, however, a few enlistments in the armed forces during the past years. Then new privileges available under the new charter will probably include military service for the young men in the future.

Many of the older Seminole still believe in the occult power of the medicine man. The author talked to several white people in Florida who said they would rather be treated by a certain medicine man than by a white doctor. They reasoned that the medicine man gathered his herbs fresh and therefore had more healing effect than those prescribed and used by a white doctor. The Indians themselves, especially the older ones, rely to a great extent on the medicine man's use of fresh herbs to treat the sick.

The traditional drink of the Seminole is corn meal boiled in water. This drink, "*sofkee*," is taken with their meals and is never seasoned with salt or other flavoring. They believe that it must be drunk in its pure state because it came from Mother Earth and to add flavoring of any kind would destroy its life-giving strength.

Many interesting experiences occurred during my travels among the Indians. One day, late in the afternoon, I realized that I was lost in the Everglades. About dark I came to an Indian village along the trail. There were two teenage children, a boy and a girl, and an old man and woman preparing the evening meal over an open fire. Upon finding out that the children could speak English, I tried to get them to tell me how to get back to the main road about thirty miles away. They did not know or seem to care about my inquiries. I brought out my maps, but the boy only shook his head when I asked him questions. The old man sitting close to the fire nearby kept saying something in the Indian language, which I did not understand. I then pressed the boy as to what the old Indian was saying. Finally, after a pause, the boy said, "Paw-Pa says, if white man did not talk so much, he would not be lost!"

On another occasion a fifteen year old Mikasuki Indian boy was acting as my guide and interpreter, and we spent many hours travel-

ing together. One day while driving along he was looking over a book I had written and rather suddenly he commented, "You must be busy person—books just don't happen!"

These Indians, especially the younger ones attending school, have a keen sense of values. They asked many questions concerning the cost of my automobile and cameras. When they were told that one camera cost several hundred dollars and another, one hundred dollars, they asked if they were bought for cash or on time payments. When told that all the cameras were bought at different times and paid for at the time of purchase, their comment was, "You must be a very rich man."

Their sense of humor concerning one's misfortune is the same as in our society. During a visit, a Leica camera failed to operate properly and a large number of slides were ruined. During a later contact it was explained to them that the camera had broken on the last visit and more pictures were desired. Their attitude was expressed in a jovial manner—"The camera broke when you took our picture before—it will break again if you take our picture now."

A comment was made to one Indian that they were very fortunate to be able to own and drive automobiles—his quick reply was, "Yes, while we men work, the women run around and burn up the gas."

The Indians at Brighton Reservation were interested in the fact that I always carried several pipes with me. Toby John and his friends decided that since I smoked a different pipe everytime we met, my name should be In-he-ge-puk-sul-ka, meaning man of many pipes.

Although the clan is still in existence, it is losing its significance among the reservation Indians. Its former purpose was partly to prevent closely related families from intermarrying.

In the Seminole Society, descent and inheritance is from the mother. In the past, children took the mother's name rather than the father's. Now that they are more and more in contact with the outside, the families living on reservations are using the father's name as we do in society.

The Indians, however, still retain and use their Indian names among themselves. Although many of the Indians now have white men's names, these are used for records and dealings with white men.

Research regarding the origin of some names of the Indians that belong in white man's category produced some interesting facts. Many years ago government census takers went into the Everglades, and not being versed in the Indian languages, they could not understand

the Indian names. To simplify matters, the census takers gave them simple white man's names such as Smith, Jones, John, Billie, Clay, and even Snow.

Many of the Indians still cherished their Indian names. A few examples with their meaning will be mentioned:

Mrs. Jack Smith—Fi-no-fi-ga—That Which Shakes  
Jimmy Osceola—Ah-ho-nee—Wide Awake  
Josie Billie—Ca-tcha-no-kuf-tee—Black Wild Cat  
Coleman Josh—Sen-ta-ga-kee—Protector  
Billy Bowlegs III—Jo-ko-harjo—Drunk Rabbit

Many years ago there lived in Spanish Florida a Seminole Indian of small stature who made his living by trapping. This Indian was an ancestor of the present day Harjos in Florida and Oklahoma. This Indian trapper traded with the Spanish traders and often got "fire-water" in exchange for his skins and furs. When he returned home intoxicated his Indian friends called him Harjo-Ochee, Harjo meaning drunk and Ochee meaning little, or Little Drunk. His three sisters who were ashamed and disgusted with him simply called him Harjo, drunk or drunkard. Since that time all his descendants have been known by the name of Harjo.

Among white natives living in southern Florida, there exists numerous "old women's tales" about the Seminoles. The writer will cite several examples still being told in this part of Florida. One such tale concerns a Seminole hair-do. This story is that when a Seminole woman wears her hair in a top-knot it signifies that she is a grandmother. The fact that this type of hair arrangement is traditional and has been handed down for many hundreds of years.

Another tale which I heard from different people later while on a visit to Brighton Reservation came from white people who drove up and very seriously made this inquiry: "Where can we find the old Indian who killed his wife?" Having already heard the story from different sources, I told them to tell me the story. The tourist said: "This Indian had killed his wife several years ago, and the tribal elders had punished him by making him wear a dress for the rest of his life. He was to be further punished by having several inches of the hem removed every succeeding year at the Green Corn Dance. He should be almost naked by now. We would like to see him." I told these tourists that someone had been telling them a fictitious tale. They

looked at me in amazement and left. I wish to cite this false myth because among many white people it has already become a legend.

It cannot be denied that barriers do exist between the older Indians who have spent most of their lives in comparative isolation and the younger generation who is becoming accustomed to the ways of their white neighbors. In spite of their tribal traditions, they are an aggressive, energetic people.

Old inherited traditions are cherished and preserved by the old people. The complexities of the modern world are more than they can understand. After generations of simple living habits, they still prefer living close to nature, isolated in the swamplands. Middle aged Indians who have never attended school now know, in the reality of this modern age, education is the only answer for their children who wish to become useful citizens. Educational opportunities offered are unique, since attendance is not compulsory. The decision rests with the Indians themselves. Many young Indians whose parents still cling to the old beliefs and traditions know they cannot continue in the old manner.

Many present day problems face the Seminoles; they are torn between the old and the new. While many still hesitate to make the change and as the older ones gradually pass away, younger generations are striving toward a better way of life for themselves and their children in a competitive world not of their own choosing. In essence, they live within two worlds—the old, which the older Indians are reluctant to leave and the new which the younger Indians know they must accept.

The Florida Seminoles are gradually overcoming their distrust of white men. In spite of past misunderstandings, these proud people are ready to accept the challenges that confront them in their rapidly changing environment.

These new changes and attitudes will end forever the once colorful existence of these proud Indians—the Seminoles.

*Southern Illinois University*

## FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN THE ALABAMA BLACK BELT, 1870-1910

by Glenn Sisk

THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS of the Alabama Black Belt may well typify those of the old plantation sections of the Deep South. The ten counties west of Montgomery known as the Black Belt retained many of the ante-bellum customs and attitudes past Reconstruction and until World War I; for, while slavery and the plantation system were gone, a heavy Negro population and a rural economy remained.

The customs that surrounded funerals in the period between 1870 and 1910 show the neighborly concern of rural and small town life at times of sorrow. Burial customs varied among the rich and the poor, Negro and white, and between country and town. Yet every death was an occasion for special observance and ceremony. In a bereaved community the living stopped their accustomed ways to honor the departed.

Negroes kept the bodies of the dead at the home as long as possible, "sitting up" with them and often practising numerous incantations on them. Probably no aspect of life was more subject to Negro superstition than death. Among primitive Negroes a body was kept for three days, as the spirit was thought still to hover around.

In the case of one Negro funeral, the body was turned over to the "watchers," who covered all the mirrors in the house, since it was bad luck for the corpse to see herself. Since the girl had been murdered, they placed an egg in each hand and two pins between her lips. "That will bring her murderer back," the chief watcher said. After three days the girl was buried. On the outside of the grave relatives placed the fan she had carried to the dance and the razor the murderer had dropped. Twenty-one days after burial, the funeral was preached.<sup>1</sup>

As burial societies developed, the colored people were enabled to celebrate their funerals more elaborately.<sup>2</sup> When a member was reported dangerously ill, all friends, relatives, and associate members of the society of which the deceased had been a member began exten-

<sup>1</sup>Agnes Ware Bishop, "Folk Lore or Voodoo," MS in Federal Writers Project, WPA (State Department of Archives).

<sup>2</sup>*The Emancipator*, May 22, 1920.

<sup>3</sup>Marie Reese, MS in Federal Writers Project, WPA (State Department of Archives).

sive preparations for the coming event, such as "washing up," pressing and ironing costumes to wear to the funeral. Those with fat purses would buy "mourning" costumes. The "passing" was announced instantly by ringing a plantation bell or knocking the sweep (part of a plow) as many times as the deceased was years old. Then the real celebration was on. When the remains were embalmed, they were "kept out" for three days to a week. There were large crowds every night at the "setting up," where they made merry with coffee drinking, if not with stronger drink. A light was placed at the head of the casket to "light the way to the other side," and at intervals hymns were sung. In the case of a prominent colored citizen the final ceremony might include elaborate papers on his life; solos might be sung and flower girls march in the funeral procession. The real funeral, conducted by a minister, was held a month or more after the burial.<sup>3</sup>

Among the white people in the small towns it was customary to announce a death by sending around to every home a printed, black-bordered announcement threaded with black-bordered ribbon. It was also customary to place the announcement in stores and other public places. Friends of the bereaved family soon thronged to the household of the departed to pay their respects and to offer their services. Neighbors sent pies and cakes and other delicacies to the family as tokens of their sympathy.<sup>4</sup> "Sitting up" was done half the night by one group of friends and the latter half of the night by a second shift.<sup>5</sup> Stores were sometimes closed for the funerals of prominent people.<sup>6</sup> Ladies of the bereaved family wore black mourning dresses for some time after the death.<sup>7</sup>

The funeral service was usually held in a church or in the home and was conducted by one or by several local ministers.<sup>8</sup> Around 1900 the pall bearers customarily wore large black badges, though later black or grey gloves were used to distinguish them. The funeral sermon included eulogies of the dead and often placed the minister in an embarrassing position at the funerals of people whose lives were known to be unsavory. It was customary for the casket to be opened

<sup>3</sup>R. C. Kennedy, "Alas, Poor Yorick," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, II (Winter Issue, 1940), 405-415.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with Tilman Ford Leake, Jr., Memory Chapel, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>5</sup>Marion True *Democrat*, April 25, 1883.

<sup>6</sup>*Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, December 9, 1894.

<sup>7</sup>Kennedy, "Alas, Poor Yorick," p. 413.

and for the congregation to file by and view the body.<sup>9</sup> In the case of members of Masonic or other orders, special ceremonies were held.

Some were buried in family graveyards on plantations and some in public cemeteries, but in rural areas, especially among the Negroes, burial might occur in a field. Not so many vaults were used in the eighties and the nineties as later, and these were usually of brick. The majority of people were buried in plain dirt graves with the boxes and the caskets lowered into them.<sup>10</sup> In the rural areas in the earlier years of the period wooden coffins were either made or bought from country stores. When a coffin was homemade, metal handles could be bought from the store.<sup>11</sup> Metallic, rosewood, and walnut coffins were available in the seventies for those who could afford them.<sup>12</sup> Horse-drawn hearses were used until the automobile began to replace them about 1908. Cast iron caskets were made from armco iron about 1910; solid copper and bronze were also used.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Interview with Tilman Ford Leake, Jr.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>T. D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows, The Southern Country Store* (New York, 1944), p. 273.

<sup>12</sup>*Alabama Beacon*, April 19, 1879.

<sup>13</sup>Interview with Tilman Ford Leake, Jr.

## OLD JOE CLARKE

by F. W. Bradley

**T**HE LATE DR. JOHN BENNETT of Charleston sent me this ballad which he heard sung in West Virginia and North Carolina. Not all of it was found in either place, but Dr. Bennett put together the two songs into what is a complete story:

Old Joe Clarke he killed a man,  
And buried him in the sand;  
He took his bloody handkerchief  
And wiped his bloody hand.

Yo ho ho for old Joe Clarke,  
Joe Clarke has come to town.  
He's boarding at the Big Hotel (jail)  
And courting the Widow Brown.

I never did like old Joe Clarke,  
I'll tell you the reason why;  
He rode all over my garden patch,  
And trompled down all my rye.

I hauled me up a load of brush,  
To fence the garden round;  
Old Joe Clarke's hogs got into it,  
And rooted up all the ground.

I planted my corn in the month of May;  
By June it was knee high.  
I counted on a crop, till one fine day  
Joe Clarke came a-riding by.

He turned his cows into my corn,  
That they might eat their fill;  
For all I know, them . . . . . cows  
Are in there eatin' still.

Sheriff Brown were a mighty fine man,  
He never told a story.  
He always wore his long black coat  
To carry his soul to glory.

But Betsy Brown I can't abide,  
I'll tell you the reason why;  
She'll . . . . . a corn bread crust  
And call it custard pie.

Sheriff Brown went out one day,  
To ride the country round.  
He came on murdering old Joe Clarke,  
A-sleeping on the ground.

The Sheriff laid down his forty-four,  
Likewise his ammunition.  
Says he to murdering old Joe Clarke,  
"I'll quell your damned ambition!"

They clinched, and first the Sheriff squoze.  
Joe found his breath were gone.  
Said he: "I never were squoze so hard,  
Since the day and the hour I were born!"

They fought a while and then they agreed  
To leave each other be.  
Says Joe: "I am too strong for you,  
And you're too strong for me.

"Let's go to town," said Joe to Brown:  
"To fight I have no mind."  
The Sheriff said: "I'll ride in front,  
And you shall ride behind."

Joe rode behind the Sheriff  
A mile and a half or more.  
Then he drawed a great long bowie knife  
And stabbed him to the core.

Old Joe Clarke killed Sheriff Brown,  
And buried him in the sand.  
He took his bloody handkerchief  
And wiped his bloody hand.

Betsy Brown went out one day  
To walk around the town  
She came upon the Sheriff's corpse  
A-lying on the ground.

The wind had blowed the sand away,  
From his crown down to his chin.  
The beetles were a-crawling out,  
And the worms were a-crawling in.

When Betsy seen that black, black face—  
'Twere black as a face can be—  
A-laying there in the bloody sand  
Under a black-jack tree,

"My Gawd!" says she, "I know I shall  
Look like that when I'm dead!"  
The Preacher said: "You certainly will!"  
She taken to her bed.

Yo ho ho for old Joe Clarke!  
Joe Clarke has come to town;  
He's boarding at the Big Hotel  
And courting the Widow Brown.

Now the Widow Brown is a . . . . . fool.  
As widows often be;  
So she slipped him the key to the jail  
For the sake of his company.

"Now I am out of that . . . . . jail,  
As free as a man can be.  
I'll leave the town to Betsy Brown,  
For the jail's no place for me.

"When next you see Miz Betsy Brown,  
Won't you please to tell her  
No more to make her mind to me,  
But to look for another feller!"

So it's "Fare ye well to old Joe Clarke,"  
And it's "Fare ye well to town;"  
And it's "Fare ye well to the Big Hotel,"  
And "Good-bye Betsy Brown!"

*Columbia, South Carolina*

## FOLKLORE IN THE CANTIGAS OF ALFONSO EL SABIO

John Esten Keller

THE STRONG TIES linking folklore and literature have long been recognized and studied. The science of folklore with its techniques for classifying motifs and types of tales has clearly delineated some of the relationships between literary and popular traditions. Indeed, these classifications reveal that vast areas of universal literature—and this includes the writings of known authors—stem ultimately from the folk. It is known, too, that a kind of reciprocity is active between literature and folklore, for the folk borrows from erudite tradition and in due time absorbs these borrowings completely. Sometimes it is even possible to trace a perfect cycle: a folktale, in some writer's hands, becomes a literary tale; this literary tale, borrowed by the folk, again becomes a folktale.<sup>1</sup>

The period of classification of folktales, legends, myths, etc. has recently attained to new heights with the publication of Stith Thompson's New Enlarged and Revised Edition of the *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the time is ripe for carrying out studies aimed at showing the elements of folklore in great works of literature. Who knows, even today, the actual folkloric content of such masterpieces as *Don Quijote*, *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Decameron*, or the works of Rabelais?

The present essay will attempt to examine and to discuss the elements of folklore in one of Spain's great medieval books, the *Cántigas de Santa María*, written under the patronage of King Alfonso X, "el Sabio." These poems need only a brief introduction, for they have been the subject of much study by students of musicology, art, literature, archaeology, and sociology. The *Cántigas* were written at the command of the Learned King and assembled in lavishly illustrated volumes. Alfonso himself is quite probably the author of some of the poems, for he appears in a number of them as do members of his immediate family. Each *cántiga* relates a miracle of the Blessed Virgin. Each

<sup>1</sup>J. E. Keller, "El cuento folklórico en España y en Hispano-américa," *Folklore Américas* XIV (1954), No. 1, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, New Enlarged Revised Edition. Bloomington, 1955-58. 6 vols.

contains the musical notation that makes it possible to sing the miracles.<sup>3</sup> And in two of the codices the songs are accompanied by full-page sets of beautifully colored and illuminated miniatures.<sup>4</sup> The *Cántigas* belongs to erudite poetry in thirteenth-century Spain and were written not in Castilian, but in Galician-Portuguese, a tongue regarded by cultured people as more apt for lyric verse and for song. It should be added that the *Cántigas* were also intended for singing in church, and indeed, the king in his last will and testament provided for the safekeeping of his *Cántigas* and stated that they were to be sung on the feast days of Our Lady. "Otroí mandamos," he wrote, "que todos los libros de los *Cantares de loor de Sancta María* sean todos en aquella iglesia do nuestro cuerpo se enterrare, e que los fagan cantar en las fiestas de Sancta María. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

All this places the *Cántigas de Santa María* well within the limits of learned tradition, of even polished erudite tradition, and one might well be permitted to wonder what the *Cántigas* have to do with folklore, or what folklore has to do with the *Cántigas*. Can one prove that elements of true folklore exist in these songs?

The answer is very definitely in the affirmative. The *Cántigas* of the Learned King literally abound in folklore. One is almost tempted to state that no single piece of medieval literature outrips the *Cántigas* in this respect. Of great importance and special interest to folklorists is the fact that in addition to mention of folklore, these are actual illustrations of many of its aspects. These pictures, incidentally, contain the basis for most revealing studies of medieval life in many of its phases; that they contain remarkable portrayals of medieval folkways goes without saying.

Three hundred and fifty-three separate miracles exist in the *Cántigas de Santa María*, but more were included, to judge from the tables of contents of the codices.

<sup>3</sup>Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cántigas II* (1943) the musicologists is the most authentic study; see also Julián Ribera, *La música de las Cántigas*, 1922; Experiences Anonymes of New York has produced an excellent long-play recording of several of the *Cántigas* sung by the countertenor, Russell Oberlin.

<sup>4</sup>Escorial MS T.I.I (also known as E I) contains 212 pages of miniatures; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale MS Banco Rari 20 (formerly entitled II. I. 213) has 93 miniatures; in Escorial MS B.1.2. (E 2) there are miniatures in which are seen musicians with their instruments. J. Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cántigas de Santa María, Estudio Arqueológico de sus Miniaturas*, Madrid, 1949, reproduces in black and white all the miniatures of MS T.I.I.

<sup>5</sup>J. Guerrero Lovillo, *op. cit.*, p. 19, cites this part of the final testament of King Alfonso.

The problem of treating the folklore in the *Cántigas* is not one easy to solve. The only attempt to date is that of F. Calcott,<sup>6</sup> who in his study, *The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature*, devoted to the *Cántigas* only an investigation of purely supernatural aspects and the folklore surrounding these aspects. Calcott's study is most enlightening and it traces medieval Spanish folk beliefs in some detail and even goes so far as to attempt a classification of such beliefs. Scholars who wish to pursue other areas of folklore in the *Cántigas*—for example, folk speech, folk arts and crafts, folk music, folk medicine, etc., would do well to study the researches of Calcott.

The present study will deal for the most part with the actual folk motifs found in the miracles; however, other less easily defined folkloristic elements merit mention, and some attention must be accorded these. In a book-length study now in progress about the way of life in thirteenth-century Spain the writer will devote considerable space to folklore. For the present, the following remarks may to some degree suffice.

#### 1. GENERAL FOLKLORE IN THE CÁNTIGAS

In addition to the actual folk motifs in the *Cántigas de Santa María*, many aspects of general folklore appear. Medieval Spanish folkways, customs, laws, beliefs and superstitions, etc. form the background of many of the miracles, and these are often depicted in the miniatures. *Cántiga* 42<sup>7</sup> is concerned in part with a ball game—one that closely resembles a baseball game—and the miniatures show this game in progress; in *Cántiga* 144 there is a thirteenth-century bullfight which was held in celebration of the marriage of a wealthy man's daughter; black magic is an element of *Cántiga* 125, and in the illustrations appears the magic diagram drawn by the protagonist to protect him from the host of demons he has conjured up; *Cántiga* 129 depicts clearly an old folk belief concerning the theft of a communion wafer to be used in a charm to work witchcraft.

Strange superstitions are common; *Cántiga* 128 shows how a woman

<sup>6</sup>See F. Calcott, *The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature*, New York, 1923 for a classification of the miracles according to their contents. A. F. G. Bell, "Las Cántigas de Santa María" of Alfonso X, *Modern Language Notes* X (1915), 338-48 also attempts classification.

<sup>7</sup>The numbers of the *Cántigas* are cited according to the enumeration of the Marqués de Valmar's edition, *Cántigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, Madrid, 1889. 2 vols.

made a waxen image of a child to be presented to the Virgin Mary so as to insure the healthy birth of the mother's expected baby; in number 87 of the Florentine Codex King Alfonso is seen obtaining cure from a deadly fever by touching a copy of his *Cántigas* in much the same way that the folk believes a cure is obtained by touching the Holy Bible; *Cántiga* 319 tells of the use of enchantment in a futile attempt to cure a case of rabies.

Jewish customs are cited with frequency; in *Cántiga* 107 the Jews of Segovia try a young Jewess who has professed a desire to accept Christianity, and as a punishment cast her from a high cliff; a Jewish child in *Cántiga* 4 unwittingly receives the Holy Sacrament given to the pupils in a school and is thrust into a furnace by his irate father; *Cántiga* 12 focuses attention upon the Jewish custom of crucifying an image of the Saviour.

King Alfonso and his court poets seem to have taken great interest in miracles whose backgrounds and characters were popular. Certainly a large number of the songs deal with the middle class and even with the peons. Local shrines—some apparently quite insignificant—are the scenes of miracles, and the poets of the *Cántigas* may justifiably be called early *costumbristas*.

## 2. FOLK MOTIFS IN THE CÁNTIGAS

The richest deposits of folklore in the *Cántigas de Santa María* lie in the stories of the miracles. The motifs used by the Learned King and his poets are quite varied as to subject and stem from many sources, some of which have not been traced. Mussafia, one of the earliest to attempt to trace the sources, believed that the King began by using the well-known miracles found in the standard collections, such as the *Miracles* of Gautier de Coincy. He stated that 64 such well-known miracles are numbered in King Alfonso's first one hundred *Cántigas*; 17 in the second one hundred; 11 in the third; and only 2 in the fourth one hundred.<sup>8</sup> Solalinde felt that no such positive listing as this should be given, but he agreed that the *Cántigas* made use of the better known miracles at first.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps after a rather selective compilation the king and his collaborators found it necessary to use miracles not found in the collections, or perhaps they decided that

<sup>8</sup>The studies of Mussafia, which attempt to trace the sources of the *Cántigas*, are included in the edition of the Marqués de Valmar, Vol. II.

<sup>9</sup>A. G. Solalinde, "El código florentino de las *Cántigas*," *Revista de Filología Española* V (1918), 175-76.

Spanish miracles were actually preferable. Be that as it may, local Spanish miracles gained increasing favor as the *Cántigas* were set down. After all, Spaniards in all periods of writing have evinced great interest in their own affairs and their own customs and folklore, and the fact that they did so in the thirteenth century is not really strange.

Miracles of the Virgin and of the Saints belong to that body of narrative considered to be well within the realm of folk tradition. We know them as saints' legends, and Spain is especially endowed with them. Such accounts have been admirably treated by Stith Thompson in an essay in *Folklore Américas* entitled *La Leyenda*.<sup>10</sup> Many of these tales have greatly enhanced the very development and evolution of world narrative. Scholars believe that most miracles of this variety originated with the folk, gradually made their way into ecclesiastical circles, and finally became the property of religious literature. Some, of course, came from the minds of the clergy and were borrowed by the folk, thus participating in the kind of reciprocity mentioned earlier in this study. The more moving and emotional miracles, those with universal appeal, and those which for undetermined reasons were among the most cherished by Christians, formed the core of the great collections of miracles. By the middle of the thirteenth century such collections had appeared in many lands, and some existed in Spain before the *Cántigas* of King Alfonso. Latin was the usual vehicle for these miracles, but vernacular versions existed as exemplified by the *Milagros* of Gonzalo de Berceo or the *Miracles* of Gautier de Coincy.

#### A. MOTIFS BORROWED DIRECTLY FROM OTHER WORKS

R. S. Boggs has pointed out very effectively the prevalence of folk motifs in literature.<sup>11</sup> The very *raison d'être* of the *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* is predicated upon this fact. The substratum of folk motifs beneath the miracles in the standard collections, therefore, must be considered. The standard miracles, included in the great erudite collections, like most stories of this kind, seem to belong to popular tradition in their original form. This means, of course, that when the Learned King and his collaborators used these standard miracles, they were indeed using folk motifs. But since the miracles were in their eyes traditional narratives believed to be true and not fictional, the

<sup>10</sup>Stith Thompson, "La Leyenda," *Folklore Américas* XII (1952) No. 1.

<sup>11</sup>R. S. Boggs, "Folklore in Literary Masterpieces of the World," tirada aparte de la *Miscelánea de Estudios dedicados al Dr. Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, Havana, 1955.

writers of the *Cántigas* were not admittedly using folkloristic materials. The fact that each of the stories probably originated in some distant and remote past and sprang from the people, probably never entered their minds. As students of folklore we today, in our modern wisdom, may say that the motifs in the standard collections go back to the folk; but we cannot accuse the Learned King of dipping directly into folklore when he dipped into the works of such a writer as Vincent of Beauvais. When the writers of the *Cántigas* played the role of folklorists they did so in their use of miracles of a very different sort—the miracles gathered in Spain from local shrines and from the larger churches, too, but miracles that were Spanish and probably current among the folk.

A few of the *Cántigas* taken from the standard collections should be mentioned. *Cántiga* 42 is the story of a young man who placed his ring on a finger of the Virgin's image and saw the stone finger close upon the ring. This tale enjoyed great popularity during the Middle Ages and was related in several languages. Folklorists know it as the motif of the statue bride, and Thompson cites it as *T367 Young man betrothed to a statue*. Matthew Paris, Gautier de Coincy, Vincent of Beauvais used it. It appeared in the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, the *Legenda Aurea*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Scala Celi* and the *Kaiserchronik*, although in the last three the statue was that of Venus and not of the Blessed Virgin. Scholars believe that the motif came from the folk, that it was first told about the statue of Venus, and that it finally drifted into the orbit of Our Lady's miracles. The story is, then, a folktale, but by the time it came into the hands of the Learned King it belonged to erudite and clerical traditions.

The same may be said of *Cántiga* 74 which tells of an artist who liked to depict the devil as a most hideous creature. The fiend appeared to the painter and threatened him, later causing the scaffolding on which he was standing to fall to the floor. The painted likeness of Our Lady supported the artist until he could be rescued. By the time Alfonso used this story it had long been the property of the standard Latin collections.

Scores of such well-known motifs could be cited. As we have seen, they all, or nearly all, were originally of folk creation, but to the writers of the *Cántigas* they were not folklore. Listing more of this variety will not strengthen the argument that the king utilized popular tales in his book.

B. BORDERLINE CASES—ALFONSINE VERSIONS OF LITERARY TALES  
OR OF POPULAR TALES?

Miracles of real popular background can be cited, and will be later; however, there are borderline cases which demand some study. Are these miracles of true folk origin or are they pseudo-folktales, reworkings of well-known stories from such books as the Bible or from the writers of classical antiquity? It is difficult, if not impossible to determine whether some of these sprang from the folk or from the minds of the writers of the *Cántigas*. A few, told in briefest summary, will suffice to illustrate this problem.

*Cántiga* 241 is an excellent example. Durin gthe festivities on his wedding day a young man leaned from a window to wipe out a wine glass. Losing his balance, he fell several stories to the street and was injured mortally. Even when he was taken up, broken and dying, his mother refused to give up hope. She had him carried to the altar of the Virgin where, in response to her prayers, he was healed completely. This story, it will be noted, is a close parallel to that of Eutychus (Acts 20: 9-12) who likewise fell from an upper window and who was restored to life by St. Paul. Is the version of the *Cántigas* a reworking of the story of Eutychus? If so, whose reworking? An erudite poet's or that of a man of the people?

Number 193 is another case in point. A merchant is bound and thrown overboard by his fellow passengers. Three days later sailors on another ship passing that way see him under the water and haul him up. He has survived in a bubble beneath the waves. Similarities between the *cántiga* and the story of Jonah are obvious.

*Cántiga* 167 bears a resemblance to the resuscitation of Lazarus, and number 236 has as its subject the miracle of walking upon the water.

The *Cántigas* contain also what appear to be reworkings of stories from other works of literature. *Cántiga* 98 tells of invisible forces that prevent a wicked woman in Valverde from entering a church, reminding one of how St. Mary the Egyptian was so prevented from entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

*Cántiga* 103 relates the story of a pious monk who listened for three hundred years to the song of a little bird, although to him it seemed no longer than a moment.

Surely *Cántiga* 369 is a Spanish version of the tale known to folklorists as "the Ring of Policrates." A wicked alcalde in Santarén

hired two men to deceive a devout woman. One man was to buy barley from her, leaving as security a ring of the *alcalde's*; the other was to steal the ring. So it was done, and the woman was at the *alcalde's* mercy. But the thief had dropped the ring into the sea, and when the woman's daughter cleaned a fish that evening, she found it.

All these and many others belong to popular traditions, and all to have lived for ages in erudite writing.

### C. GENUINE FOLK MOTIFS IN THE *CÁNTIGAS*

The most interesting of all the varieties of miracles in the *Cántigas de Santa María* are those that appear to be original to Spain and to have been drawn directly from the lore of the people. Of these the most famous and long-lived is probably the story of the Jewess Marisaltos. This miracle is still told in Spain and in Hispanic America. A rather poorly executed picture of one of its scenes can be seen today on the wall of the cloister of the Cathedral of Segovia near the niche which is said to contain the remains of the Jewess. The painting shows Marisaltos falling from the clifftop from which she has been hurled by her Jewish executioners, and the Virgin can be seen saving her from her death. In King Alfonso's *Cántiga* 107 the identical events are described, and the miniature shows the miraculous rescue of the Jewess.

Peculiarly local miracles are common in the *Cántigas*. Some are quite earthy and bear the definite stamp of agricultural life. Gautier de Coincy would have turned up his erudite nose at such tales, but King Alfonso included them in his *Cántigas*. Such stories belong to the realm of folk belief about poisonous reptiles and insects. Wherever people are ignorant of natural history—as farm folk so often are—this kind of tale originates. The writer of this article heard almost an identical version of the story next to be told, minus the Blessed Virgin and the Spanish setting, from the mouth of a farmhand in Kentucky in 1955. *Cántiga* 138 renders it thus: a woman "felt" that a serpent had somehow got inside her. Warned by a voice to go to the shrine of Our Lady of Puerto, she went there, beheld a vision of the Virgin who told her to go to Cadiz "where Jesus is" if she hoped to rid of the snake. The woman went to the Cathedral of Cádiz and knelt before an image of Jesus, whereupon she vomited up a red snake.

In Toledo, according to *Cántiga* 99, a lovely girl put her finger into the ear of a deaf-mute and drew out a hairy worm. The man

regained his hearing. Later the Virgin showed a wise priest how to restore his speech.

*Cántiga* 315 relates the miracle of a woman whose child, placed in standing wheat while the mother helped with the harvest, swallowed a head of wheat. The babe's belly became so swollen that his mother thought he had swallowed some poisonous insect. She hastened with the child to the shrine of Our Lady of Atocha at Madrid. After she had prayed, she undressed the infant and found that the head of wheat had worked its way out between the child's ribs.

In Ciudad-Rodrigo a priest drank a poisonous spider in a goblet of wine. He prayed to the Virgin to help him, for the spider had traveled about inside his body and had caused him great anguish. He could feel it in his forearm scratching him painfully. In answer to his prayer, the Virgin caused the spider to make its way out of his arm, leaving the priest unharmed.

*Cántiga* 18 sings of some very remarkable silkworms. A woman of Segovia, whose livelihood came from the production of silk, found her silkworms dying of disease. She promised the Virgin a robe for the image in the church, but forgot to give the robe. The worms wove two garments. One was given to the image, and King Alfonso took the other for his private chapel.

A furrier (*cántiga* 49) in Terrena never honored the Blessed Virgin. One day he held a needle in his mouth, so as to leave his hands free, and the needle miraculously became stuck in his throat. For days he was in agony and no doctor could help him. At last, he had himself carried to the shrine of Our Lady and there he prayed and fell asleep. While he slept he coughed up the needle.

Literally scores of Spanish miracles appear in the *Cántigas*,<sup>12</sup> making this work of the Learned King and his collaborators one of the richest sources of medieval folklore. Only a few have been adequately studied, however. When all aspects of folklore—folk arts and crafts, folk music, folk medicine, folk beliefs, etc. have been examined and evaluated, our knowledge of the Middle Ages and our understanding of those times and of the people who lived then will be greatly extended.

<sup>12</sup>The writer of this article is at present preparing a motif-index of the *Cántigas*, and is able to report that there are many motifs not listed in the *New and Enlarged Motif-Index* of Stith Thompson.

## BALLADS AND THE TEACHER

by Niel K. Snortum

MOST OF THOSE INTERESTED in the publications of a folklore society have occasion to use traditional song in their teaching. It may be the use of ballads and folksongs to introduce a study of narrative and lyric poetry, or a consideration of English and Scottish popular ballads in a survey course. It may be the full discussion of folksongs and ballads in a course in folklore. However they may teach it, it is to these teachers of traditional song that my exhortation is addressed: first, give the Child ballads the same chance you give folksongs of contemporary cultures, by teaching them with their music; second, starting from the premise that all folksong should be taught with its music, do the singing yourself.

The second proposal—which one of my colleagues calls “rash, to say the least”—may require the support of a good deal of persuasion, but I think that the first must be assented to when the issue is clearly seen.

The considerations of textual accuracy alone would naturally impel one in this direction. Notice that although a large number of Child ballads include refrains, the refrain is virtually never printed throughout; sometimes not even enough of it is printed to give the meter.<sup>1</sup> Thus after the first stanza one quickly gets the impression of a series of couplets rather than the full ballad stanza. This is no criticism of the edition; modern editions of songs with refrains ordinarily do the same thing. It not only saves space but approximates the style of recitation, for in speaking a ballad it is virtually impossible to continue speaking the refrain throughout.<sup>2</sup> Lest we be tempted to view this loss with too much tolerance, let me give one example from the many fine lyric stanzas that this treatment turns into jingling couplets:

The hawks had nae lure, and the horse had nae master  
(Brume blooms bonny and grows sae fair),  
And the faithless hounds through the woods ran faster,  
And we'll ne'er gae down to the brume nae mair.

*Sheath and Knife*, 16E9<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. Francis James Child (Boston and New York, 1882-1898), 5 vols. E.g., I p. 76, “Hey down etc.”

<sup>2</sup>Child's refrainless ballads are often “from recitation”: I pp. 68, 70, 72, etc.

<sup>3</sup>Child, *Ballads*, III p. 501.

Let us grant the effectiveness of the poetry here, and then let us admit that almost no one could recite the entire ballad in quatrains, including the repeated refrain, without drifting into soporific monotony. The limit of a skilled reader's ability to produce the music of repetition effectively is probably reached in a reading of an artificial ballad like "A Runnable Stag," where sensitive variation avoids monotony. But the possibility of monotony is very greatly reduced by a musical setting (no musician would claim that the possibility is obviated, of course), and the reason is clear: any strophic song-form uses repetition as a fundamental principle, both within and between stanzas, and of course strophic form is virtually a definitive characteristic of folksong airs. The dehydrated couplets of the printed text, then, are best reconstituted by the addition of music, where a repeated strain of the air makes natural a repetition of the elements of the ballad which would seem forced in recitation.

An illuminating example of the ill effects of speaking a ballad—and the beneficial effects of music—is given by F. B. Gresham: a girl who completely omitted the refrain of a traditional ballad in recitation produced it only when she became confused about the order of verses and resorted to singing to refresh her memory.<sup>4</sup> Anyone who has even casually collected folk songs can adduce experiences of his own to support the contention that if you wish to make traditional lyrics a part of your cultural treasury, you must at least hear them sung; and to make them a part of someone else's, you must sing them.

That introduces the second proposal, alternatives to which should perhaps be noted. If you agree, as no doubt you must, that the Child ballads should be presented in the classroom with their music, you may play records of the ballads, get someone to sing them for you, or sing them yourself.

Consider the first alternative. Records certainly have the advantage of reproducing a performance of a song identically on repeated playings, and, in the case of modern recordings, with great fidelity. In a certain proportion of recordings the vocal quality of the singer is better than that of the average instructor. The proportion should not be overestimated, of course; with field recordings often the converse is true.<sup>5</sup> And more advantages cannot, I think, be pointed out. The

<sup>4</sup>"The Jew's Daughter: an Example of Ballad Variation," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLVII (October, 1934), 358.

<sup>5</sup>A recent meeting of folklorists strained to listen to authentic field recordings of Japanese game songs—a chorus of piping voices accompanied by considerable background noise—which the speaker could have much more effectively presented in his own clear voice.

vaunted convenience of recordings, for example, is a mirage. The teacher can repeat a line or stanza for illustration much more easily by singing than by groping among grooves or feeling his way along a tape. He can abstract from the air to illustrate rhythm, mode, or any other applicable feature of musical structure. He can, by means of excerpts, illustrate local variants or parodies of the ballad ("The Wife Wrapt in a Wether's Skin," for example, benefits by this sort of illumination) much more simply by singing than by playing a piece of this or that record. An impromptu perception can be illustrated by singing in a way that would be possible only if an expensive record collection were present at each class.

The advantage of authenticity is, I feel, another mirage. Whatever force this notion might have in selecting records of the songs of a contemporary culture, it has little force in reference to the Child ballads. These are not more authentically represented by records of a folksinger from the Green Mountains or even an able entertainer from Scotland than by an instructor from Arizona or Michigan or North Carolina who is scholar enough to ferret out some authentic airs and teacher enough to sing them. To be blunt, the teacher of the ballads who doesn't sing puts himself into a position as delicate as the teacher of linguistics who doesn't reproduce the sounds that he discusses, or the teacher of art who doesn't draw. Finally, even if the singer uses an accompanying instrument (of which more shortly), his apparatus is much more easily portable and quickly adaptable (and should I add invariably dependable?) than that of the player of records.

One could do worse than be a player of records, but only if he used no music at all. Many of the objections to using records apply to getting someone to sing for you. But most important is the problem that your own scholarship and critical judgment can be effectively brought to bear on such a volunteer only by making him your pupil and mouthpiece, a situation in which few capable singers would function well.

My first object was to make you feel uneasy whenever you recite a ballad; my present object is to make you feel comfortable whenever you sing one. Colleagues with whom I have discussed this sometimes object that they have no voice and couldn't carry a tune in a covered bucket; this can usually be interpreted to mean that they realize they have an amateur's range and quality, and that when made self-conscious they forget where the air goes next. Anyone who has been in a singing session which impressed him as particularly good musical fun,

and then listened during the taped play-back with mounting apprehension to the series of unimpressive sounds which eventually must be admitted to be his own voice—anyone in this position would testify that a voice which can scarcely be heard on record with a straight face is quite appropriate and at home in informal singing face-to-face. As to range, the chances are that you have never used the top story of your voice at all; pump the bellows by breathing down to your knees, and pull out the stops by yawning your throat open.

You need not bother with accompaniment at all if you would rather not; much traditional song is unaccompanied, and you should adopt that folkway if it seems appropriate. Your method then will be, before you begin, to hum softly to yourself the crucial passages of the air—high or low as the case may be—in order to have it set within your most effective range. When you have sung a group of songs as often as the chanteyman did, you will be able to launch yourself without any preliminaries.

On the other hand, a suitable accompaniment both heartens the singer and enhances the song's appeal to a cultivated audience (few of us sing for "folk" audiences), and you can produce one at whatever expense of energy you choose. With an autoharp, city cousin of the zither, you can damp the strings you don't want to play by pressing a bar identified by the name of the chord it will leave free to sound. For most airs you can learn to work out an accompaniment in a few minutes, and the larger version of the autoharp gives a range of chords which will permit you to sing in your most effective range in most cases. The more flexible guitar or banjo need only a few months of study by an apt pupil to be ready for a simple and fitting accompaniment; and if your taste is for a more complex setting, it is within the capabilities of the instrument.

The airs themselves are not well collected, although B. H. Bronson's musical companion to the ballads is now in the press. In the meantime there are other sources. You will remember that the last volume of Child's *Ballads* includes fifty-five "ballad airs from manuscript," ranging from the simple (in "The Fause Knight" and "The Maid Freed from the Gallows") to the complex (in "The Twa Sisters," 10Bc, and "Lord Randall," 12P). Child also gives a "list of published airs," to which should be added Margaret Dean-Smith's recent *Guide*<sup>10</sup> and various regional studies of American variants.<sup>11</sup> What was said above

<sup>10</sup>A *Guide to English Folk Song Collections: 1822-1952* (Liverpool, 1954).

<sup>11</sup>For example: Phillips Barry et al., *British Ballads from Maine* (New Haven,

about vocal quality should be repeated here about reading musical notation: the fact that one cannot read an oratorio score should not prevent him from attempting to decipher a few bars of single melodic line, with whatever support can be drawn from his guitar, piano, or musical friends.

Finally, there are recorded ballad airs.<sup>12</sup> The largest group of these is the field recordings made for the Library of Congress, a few universities, and one or two commercial firms; most of these airs are recorded by people singing in the folk tradition, using techniques which divert the class's attention unnecessarily from the matter to the manner. In addition, the recent popularity of folk music has brought out some studio recordings by professional singers of traditional airs to the popular ballads: these should be checked, if possible, against literature or field recordings to make sure that the changes that the professional singer has made are true to the tradition as well as appropriate to cultivated music. Since a certain amount of editing should be involved, then, and since any gain in audience contact is to be desired, the best way to use records is to learn songs from them to sing yourself; and all-important here are the standards of form and judgment that result from scholarship. I have supplemented records in a folklorist's illustrated lecture on folk songs where many records featured a voice quite superior to mine, and yet I commanded a much greater share of the audience's attention than the records simply through being alive; and this experience is far from unique.

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1929); H. M. Belden, *Ballads and Songs*, "The University of Missouri Studies," No. 1 (1940); Arthur K. Davis, *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (Cambridge, 1929); Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, Maude Karpeles (ed.), 2 vol., (London, 1932).

<sup>12</sup>Basic here of course is Riverside Records' *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, nine records comprising 72 Child ballads. The best general guides are the Library of Congress' lists:

*A List of American Folk Songs Currently Available on Records* (Washington, D. C., 1953), and *A Check-List of Recorded Songs in the English Language in the Archive of American Folk Song to 1940* (Washington, D. C., 1942). Though immensely helpful, they are far from perfect guides, as reviewers have pointed out. The greatest problem is that using them often requires a kind of second sight, which will enable one to pick out "Little Mattie Grove" as a version of "Lord Musgrave and Lady Barnard." It is not unlikely that the lists will be revised, classified, and indexed. A good selected list of thirty-odd recorded ballad airs, some in several versions, is given in MacEdward Leach, *The Ballad Book* (New York, 1955), pp. 834-838.

Indeed, many instructors are taking the pledge of total abstinence from reciting ballads. In place of the former sing-song incantation, they have begun really to sing the ballads; and they find that, in addition to reproducing the ballad more accurately, refrain and all, they achieve greater flexibility in presentation, they are able to bring their scholarship directly to bear upon the ballads, and best of all, they get the enjoyment that comes from a presentation that is alive in every sense of the word.

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## THE GRATEFUL DEAD: AN OLD TALE NEWLY TOLD

by Marie Walter

**R**ECENTLY I SPENT a remarkable evening in the New York theatre. What had previously been academic tale types and motifs marvelously came to life in modern idiom and action. The occasion was the Broadway Chapel Players production of James Bridie's *Tobias and the Angel*.<sup>1</sup> Introducing the play, the author calls it "a plain-sailing transcription of the charming old tale told in the Book of Tobit in the Apocrypha." Actually Tobias' genealogy precedes Tobit and extends far beyond it. Tobias (or his counterpart) has wandered through folklore as the central figure in a family of stories which have as their common denominator The Grateful Dead motif (E341). The hero ransoms an indebted, unburied corpse who in return offers to aid in all adventures for a share of half the winnings. At this point the story takes on any one of four general types, depending on the part of the world in which it is being told. Type 506A, the princess rescued from slavery, is popular all over Europe, North Africa and even among the North American Indians; while a variant, the princess rescued from robbers (506B), is known only in some areas of Northern Europe and Scandinavia. In each type the grateful deadman and his partner accomplish the rescue. The pair encounter a Monster's Bride and a Monster in the Bridal Chamber in types 507A and 507B, which are the foundation of the story as found in the Book of Tobit. This redaction which first appears at the beginning of the Christian era has made some modifications in the ancient Near Eastern forms of the tale, most striking of which is the substitution of an angel for the ghost of the grateful dead.

Now in the twentieth century comes a new Tobias, modernized and Anglicized. How can an old folktale, extant Before the Common Era, compete with the glamorous offerings along our Great White Way? The secret lies in the very simplicity of the story—it is good theatre. James Bridie sensed the tale's inherent dramatic qualities and presented them

<sup>1</sup>First produced in England in 1930, the play has had a number of appearances both abroad and in the United States. The latest production opened at the Broadway Congregational Church in October, 1957, and received such unanimous critical and popular acclaim that it was held over and finally moved to a commercial house, Theatre East, where it ran for several more months.

much as any contemporary storyteller might, in the setting, speech and mores of his own locale. While technically the scene is laid in the traditional Persian landscape, Tobias' description of his homeland smacks of the English terrain that Scotsman Bridie knew well. When told of a song about the "Bonnie, Bonnie Banks of the Tigris," Tobias replies: "It is very formal and flat with its canals and windmills. And we have some dreadful slums."<sup>2</sup>

The storyteller also has his characters adopt the jargon of his own epoch. Thus we are surprised and amused at the play's opening to discover Tobit and Tobias, clad in Biblical costumes, address each other briskly: "Well, daddy. Had your walk yet?" "No, not yet, sonny . . . my wits have gone wool-gathering." This juxtapositioning of apparent anachronisms throughout contributes to much of the play's good-natured humor. In one breath Tobit longs to travel to Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost and in the next he bemoans his wife's occupation—scrubbing office floors. In the Book of Tobit her employment is weaving.

A fine example of English wit of understatement as well as dramatic irony comes towards the end of the first act. The Archangel Raphael, posing as Azarius, a humble traveling companion, stops with Tobias to rest beside the Tigris. The youth immediately proposes a swim and jumps into the river exhorting his friend to follow. Azarius-Raphael replies soberly: "I have a slight abnormality in the region of my shoulderblades. Nothing much, but I am sensitive on these matters. I always bathe alone."

Working from the character of Tobias as outlined in the various folktales, Bridie shows the development of the boy from an insecure youth to a man of poised maturity. In Act One Tobias freely admits that he is a timid weakling, brunt of the pranks of his classmates. He is also ignorant of the ways of business and commerce just as is the hero of *The Grateful Dead* in Angelo Rappoport's *The Folklore of the Jews*, whose father sends him on a trading voyage to gain some worldly experience.

The first test of manhood confronts Tobias when he is taking his dip in the Tigris. A huge fish threatens to engorge him. He cries out for help but Raphael calmly urges, "Don't be a coward," and directs the

<sup>2</sup>This particular description most likely refers to East Anglia. Lying directly across the North Sea from the European lowlands, parts of Norfolk and Suffolk closely resemble Holland with their flat lands threaded with waterways. Windmills are very common in this section.

capture of the monster. He then instructs Tobias to cut out the liver and gall-bladder and keep them in his traveling pack.<sup>3</sup> Tobias' second encounter with danger occurs shortly thereafter when an armed bandit surprises the travelers. Trembling with fear at first, Tobias gathers courage as he hears himself boasting of his victorious combat with the deadly sea monster. The would-be assailant quickly withdraws before such a formidable opponent.

This scrape with the highwayman does not appear in the Book of Tobit: an addition which suggests that Bridie may have been familiar with other versions of *The Grateful Dead*, in particular with a Scotch-Irish version entitled *Beauty of the World*. As William Larminie has this tale in his *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, the hero strikes a bargain with a "Red Man" who, in return for half the winnings, tricks three giants into giving him as many supernatural objects.<sup>4</sup>

There is, moreover, further evidence to lead the folklorist to believe that though the author himself purports to be paraphrasing a given text he is unconsciously governed by the versions of the tales which he has heard in oral circulation. At the very core of all the tales relating to motif E341 is the generosity of burial and the resultant offer of aid. Curiously enough this motif is not clearly delineated in *The Book of Tobit*. True, Tobit is shown there as a kind man who has buried many penniless Jews but the actual arrival of the helper is not coincident with such charity. Tobit, in poverty, blindness, and humiliation, prays to God for deliverance. At the same time an old friend of Tobit's prays that his house be rid of the demon which possesses his daughter, Sarah. In answer to these petitions, God sends down Raphael and the action of the story commences. James Bridie, however, has restored the essence of the folktale in that he has Tobit ask Tobias to bury a man who is lying deserted in the street. The boy is afraid and the stranger, Azarius, who has just appeared, volunteers to do the deed. It is immediately after his return that the journey into the world is decided upon. Thus Azarius' coming back from the burial is more strongly suggestive, especially on stage, of a connection between the dead man and this mysterious guide.

But to return to Tobias. From his tangle with the fish he has gotten the gall and liver, and from his second battle he has obtained

<sup>3</sup>In the Book of Tobit he removes a heart, liver, and gall.

<sup>4</sup>Usually a sword of sharpness, cap (or coat) of invisibleness, and shoes of swiftness. These are the charms frequently found connected with the popular English "Jack" stories.

the less tangible but perhaps more virulent gift of self-assurance. Tobias will need both as he embarks on his next and most perilous adventure—the rescue of Sara, the demon's wife. This episode follows types 507A and 507B. Sara has had a succession of bridegrooms, each of whom perished on the wedding night, victim of a vicious devil, Asmoday,<sup>5</sup> who has besieged the lady. Type 507C, the serpent maiden, is also suggested here, though the vanquishing of the demon alone seems sufficient to cure Sara. In *Beauty of the World* and related stories, not only is the evil spirit dealt with but the serpents which infest the girl's body must also be purged.

Raphael has collected only the seemingly impotent liver and gall of a fish with which to overcome this monster. He advises Tobias to burn the liver in the bridal chamber: "There will arise a nasty smoke and stench. . . . that will settle our friend Asmoday. He never washes, but he is a sensitive demon." The charm does prove efficacious and the forces of good and evil meet as the retreating Asmoday comes face to face with Raphael, who greets him easily: "Good evening, Stinker." The fallen angel gradually realizes that he is talking with a one-time fellow in the College of Cherubim. Suddenly a blaze of light reveals the Archangel in all the fiery splendor of his heavenly armature. Asmoday flees. This is in keeping with the legends about Mephistopheles who shrinks before the sign of the cross.

Drawing on the listener's full frame of reference, the storyteller has conjured up a formidable demon which embodies the pagan characteristics of a bestial evil, together with the more spiritualized Christian-Hebraic concepts. There is no physical description whatsoever of Asmodeus in *The Book of Tobit*. In *Tobias and the Angel* he is described by Sara's serving women as a sort of vampire who crunches bones and takes an evening night-cap of human blood. The stage directions, however, portray the fiend as a Satan or Beelzebub: "The thunder grows nearer. There is a flash of lightning followed by a terrifying peal. A flickering green light from behind the wall illumines the whole black cloth. The Demon Asmoday appears, running along the wall on all-fours like a great tomcat. He has a dragon's head with ram's horns and a great fish tail." Likewise in the apocrypha there is no exchange between Asmodeus and Raphael, while in the play the

<sup>5</sup>Asmodeus is a Hebrew underworld demon, derived from the Persian king of demons, Aesha daeva. From his role in *The Book of Tobit* he later took on the epithet Demon of Matrimonial Unhappiness, or jealousy.

tension between good and evil, angel and devil as they challenge each other is electrifying.

There is yet one more talisman to be disposed of—the preserved gall-bladder. Upon the happy homecoming of Tobias, his bride, and their traveling companion, the latter applies the gall to Tobit's sightless eyes and he is instantly cured. This motif (D1821.4, magic sight by putting ointment into eye) is not generally associated with tales centering about the Grateful Dead theme, though it does occur in *The Book of Tobit*.

The ending of the play is abrupt and somewhat out of keeping with most tales of the type. Real suspense in these stories is maintained by the bargain whereby the hero and helper agree to divide all their earnings. This exchange proves reasonable so long as the recompense is gold or property but when the protagonist finally succeeds in winning the fair princess it becomes obvious that trouble is in store. The ghost of the deadman does invariably appear to demand his prize and her wooer must acquiesce. This episode is used to particular effect by George Peele in his *Old Wives' Tale*. Unifying a number of diverse plots in the drama is the theme of the Grateful Dead, which mounts to a climax when the knight agrees to relinquish half of his newly won bride. (Her reflections on the matter seem never to be expounded in any of the surviving source tales.) The grateful dead is always satisfied with a show of probity on the hero's part and quits the scene without exacting his levy. Raphael, a more tolerant aid, never requires any payment for his services though money is several times offered to him. Only at the end of the trip is any hint of the halving motif given when Tobias says: "I was proposing to divide the dowry with him." This offer though does precipitate Raphael's self-revelment and subsequent exit.

As he departs Raphael admonishes, "Write all these things which are done in a book." And so they were. The folktale of *The Grateful Dead*, circulated orally for generations even before the advent of the apocryphal version, was set down many centuries later as the chivalric romance of *Sir Amadace* (Type 508); in the person of Hans Christian Andersen's "Fellow Traveler"; and finally Tobias and the Angel. At the same time it has maintained its life in the oral tradition of peoples all over the world.

Tobias, Raphael, and Tobit take their bows, Sara joins them for a last curtain call; the house lights come up; and you move with the

crowd into the sudden cool air outside the theater. Waiting on the subway platform you overhear a discussion of the play you have just left. The story of the drama is being recounted. But it doesn't quite follow Bridie . . . there are elements of 507 . . . isn't that part more like the West Irish tale. . . . You try to identify, categorize: but then the Bronx Express rumbles into the station and the unyielding doors close behind your informants. The train plummets into the endless blackness of the tunnel. A new path of dissemination has opened up.

## SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY IN CARD AND BOARD GAMES

by Paul G. Brewster

A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN STORY relates that a soldier was once severely reprimanded by his commanding officer for having devoted his whole attention to a pack of playing cards during a church service. Far from being abashed by the rebuke and the accompanying threat of punishment, he vigorously defended his behavior, insisting that he had intended no irreverence and claiming further that, since he was unable to read, his pack of cards served for both prayer-book and calendar. Challenged to prove his claim, he explained: "The ace reminds me that there is one God, one Faith, and one Baptism; the deuce calls to mind the Old and the New Testament; the trey is a reminder of the Trinity. When I see the four, I am reminded of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the five is the number of the wise virgins. The six suggests the six days of creation, and the seven the Sabbath. Eight is the number of Noah's family, and nine that of the ungrateful lepers. The ten reminds me of the Ten Commandments. The Knave (Jack) recalls Judas; the Queen reminds me of the Queen of Sheba; and the King, of God Almighty." Then he went on: "The twelve face cards recall the number of months in a year; the four suits, the seasons; the fifty-two cards in the deck, the number of weeks in a year," etc. So impressed was the commander by the soldier's clever defense that he not only released him but also gave him a glass of wine and some money.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Type 1613. Motif H603. *Symbolic interpretation of playing cards*. For discussion and analysis of the story, see *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, II (Berlin, 1934-1940), 173; Johannes Bolte, "Eine geistliche Auslegung des Kartenspiels," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XI (1901), 376ff.; XIII (1903), 84-88; Alexander Scheiber, "A Hungarian Encyclopedia of Cards," *Midwest Folklore*, II, 2 (Summer, 1952), 93-100.

In the Hungarian and in one of the German texts of the Scheiber paper the two symbolizes the duality of Christ, the five the wounds of Christ, the eight the Beatitudes. Another of the German variants has for the seven the seven sacraments.

Since in some European countries (e.g. Hungary) there are only thirty-two cards in a deck instead of fifty-two, the calendrical interpretation is sometimes abridged. On the other hand, the interpretation of the clubs as the Cross, the spades as the nails holding the body of Christ upon it, the heart as the love of Christ, and the diamonds as the Gospel spread to the four corners of the world is foreign to English and American variants.

Although this particular story has a very wide distribution and a great number of variations,<sup>2</sup> it is, however, not in cards but in board-games that symbolism is most frequently encountered. The philosophical (or imaginative) were quick to see the analogy between the chess-board and the world and to read symbolism into the alternate white and black spaces (life and death, grace and sin, etc.) and into the pieces and their movements as well. Accordingly, one sometimes finds the drawing of parallels carried to great length, as in the following homily:

The families of this chess-board are like men of this world; they all come out of one bag, and are placed in different stations in life. They have different appellations: one is called king, another queen, the third rook, the fourth knight, the fifth alphin (bishop),<sup>3</sup> the sixth pawn.

The condition of the game is, that one piece takes another; and when the game is finished, they are all deposited together, like men in the same place. Neither is there any difference between the king and the poor pawn; for it often happens that when the pieces are thrown promiscuously into the bag, the king lies at the bottom; as some of the great will find themselves after their transit from this world to the next.

The author goes on to point out while the king takes everything in a direct line, "which is a sign that the king must never omit doing justice to all uprightly," the queen moves and takes in an oblique line "because women, being of an avaricious nature, take whatever they can; and often, being without merit or grace, are guilty of rapine and injustice." "The rock," he continues, "is a judge who perambulates the whole land in a straight line, and should not take anything in an oblique manner, by bribery or corruption. . . . But the knight, in taking, goes one point directly, and then takes an oblique circuit, in sign that knights and lords of the land may justly take the rents due to them, and their just fines from those who have forfeited them, according to the exigencies of the case."

<sup>2</sup>Bolte cites English, French, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Icelandic, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian variants; Scheiber adds a Hungarian variant and some German texts from early chap-books and other "second-class" literature.

<sup>3</sup>Alphin (Arabic *al* = the, and *fil* = elephant) was the name earliest used in English for this piece. In Caxton's translation (1474) of the chess treatise of Cesolis, which, incidentally, was the second book printed in England and the first in which metal type was employed, the name is given as *alphyn*. The original name survives, although in corrupted form, in the Spanish *alfil* and the Italian *alfiere*.

At this point the tone becomes increasingly caustic. "The poor pawn," says the author, "goes directly forward in his simplicity; but whenever he will take he does so obliquely. Thus man, while he is poor and contented, keeps within compass and lives honestly; but in search of temporal honours he fawns, cringes, and forswears himself, and thus goes obliquely until he gains a superior degree on the chess-board of the world. When the pawn attains the utmost in his power, he changes to *Fers* (queen)<sup>4</sup> and in like manner humble poverty becomes rich and insolent."

Even more vehement is the attack upon the corruptness of the clergy:

The alphins are the various prelates of the church . . . , who rise to their sees not so much by divine inspiration as by royal power; interest, entreaties, and ready money. These alphins move and take obliquely three points, for the minds of too many prelates are perverted by love, hatred, or bribery, not to reprehend the guilty or bark against the vicious, but rather to absolve them from their sins; so that those who should have extirpated vice are, in consequence of their own covetousness, become promoters of vice and advocates of the devil."

In the concluding paragraph, the writer likens the devil to a master chess player:

In this chess game (i. e. the world) the devil says "check" whenever he insults and strikes one with his dart of sin; and if he that is thus struck cannot immediately deliver himself, the devil resuming the move, says to him "mate," carrying his soul along with him to prison, from which neither love nor money can deliver him, for from hell there is no redemption. And as huntsmen have various hounds for taking various beasts, so the devil and the world have different vices, which differently entangle mankind, for all that is in this world is lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes, or proud living."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The fact that there is also a game known as *ferses* led to a long-standing misinterpretation of lines 617-748 of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, in which there is what appears to be a contradiction. The explanation is that one speaker, the knight, is thinking in terms of chess, while Chaucer has in mind the game of *ferses*. For the explanation in detail, see H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 74-75.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Tomlinson, *Amusements in Chess* (London, 1845), pp. 56-57. The passages quoted are from a manuscript attributed to Pope Innocent III but probably the work of an English monk named Innocent (c. 1400).

The Persian vizier, Vazurmihr, who, after having met successfully the challenge of the Indian king to explain the game of chess,<sup>6</sup> invented the game of *nard*, gives a cosmological interpretation to the counters and their movements in the latter. The game, declares the vizier, represents human life and action, dependent upon the course of the planets and upon the zodiacal signs. The board itself is the earth, the thirty men the days of the month (the fifteen white ones the days and the fifteen black ones the nights); the moving to and fro of the pieces portrays the courses of the constellations. The ace of the dice used in playing the game corresponds to the unity of the Creator, the deuce to the duality of heaven and earth, the trey to the trinity of thought, word, and deed, the four to the primal elements of nature (dryness, dampness, warmth, and cold) and also to the four points of the compass, the five to the five lights (sun, moon, stars, fire and twilight), the six to the *gāhānbār(s)*, or the six days in which God created the world.<sup>7</sup>

An early German poet, Reinmar von Zweter (born c. 1200), interprets somewhat differently the spots on the dice. To him the ace stands for the unity of God, the two for heaven and earth, the three for the Trinity, the four for the Gospels, the five for the five senses, and the six for the Lenten fast. He sees in the dice a clever invention of Satan to introduce the Christian to instruments of gambling under the guise of symbols of religion.<sup>8</sup>

In the Mongolian game *Norobo (Cindi)*, the symbols on the first two of the fifteen sets of checkers used in playing are from the Seven Precious Jewels of Buddhistic symbolism. Twelve of the symbols

<sup>6</sup>According to tradition, a certain king of India sent the learned Tachtaritus to King Chosrau Anosharvan of Persia with a game of chess, which was Tachtaritus' own invention, as a challenge. If the Persians could learn and explain the game, the Indians were to pay tribute to them; if not, then the Persians were to be the payers of tribute. After three days, the Persian vizier, Vazurmihr, explained it and proceeded to win twelve games from Tachtaritus. The former then invented another game, *nard*, which is sent under strong escort, to the Indian monarch. When the wise men of India are unable to elucidate it, the escort returns to Persia with a double tribute. See Willard Fiske, *Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic Literature With Historical Notes on Other Table-Games* (Florence, 1905), p. 169. The title of this work is misleading, as it covers a much broader area than Iceland proper.

<sup>7</sup>For information regarding the earliest literary references to chess and *nard*, Western scholarship is indebted largely to the studies of two men, Professor Theodor Nöldeke and Dr. K. G. Salemann. See Fiske, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>8</sup>H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), p. 529.

represent the animals of the zodiac calendar.<sup>9</sup> The fifteenth is that of the lion-dog, statues of which often guard the main entrance to temples.<sup>10</sup>

Symbolism was connected with the playing of dice also in ancient India. According to the *Catapatha-brahmana* (V, 4, 4, 6ff.), a game of dice was played by the king and a priest immediately after the former's taking possession of the throne. After the ground had been smoothed and purified, both seated themselves, a number of dice between them. The priest took up five of these and tossed them into the hand of the king, saying: "May you be strong to rule over these five regions and may they prosper you!" Since one was the number of the king of the dice, the priest appears to have been careful to make sure that each of the dice tossed to the king bore that number. The same procedure was anciently followed also in Tibet at the accession of a new Lama, the ruling number in this instance being six.<sup>11</sup>

In many forms of the board-game *awèlé*,<sup>12</sup> the board, the counters, and the movements of the latter have symbolic meanings. Professor M. Griaule, who has made an intensive study of the game in its relation to Dogon, Bozo, and Bambara cosmogonies, finds that the twelve holes (six on each side) into which the counters are dropped represent the compartments of the celestial edifice of the ancestral gods,<sup>13</sup> four of the forty-eight counters are stars, twenty-two are teeth of the Guardian of the universe, and the remaining twenty-two are totemic stones, etc.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup>These symbols appear also on the pieces used in some forms of the Chinese game of dominoes; see Stewart Culin, *Chinese Games With Dice and Dominoes* (Washington, 1895), p. 519.

<sup>10</sup>George Söderbom, "The Mongolian Game Norobo or Cindi," *Ethnos*, XV (1950), 95-100.

<sup>11</sup>Jeannine Auboyer, "De quelques jeux anciens en Asie orientale," *France-Asie*, Nos. 85-86 (Juin-Juillet, 1953), 522-523; *La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne*. Fascicule VI. *Les jeux et les jouets*. (Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et Documents d'Art et d'Archéologie, Tome VI), Paris, 1955.

<sup>12</sup>This is one of the most widespread of all board-games. It is known in India as *pandi* or *changkak*, in Ceylon as *chanka*, in Syria as *la'b hakimi* or *l'ab akila*, in Malaya as *dakon*, in the Philippines as *chuncajon*, in Abyssinia as *madji*, *mausal*, or *gabatta*, in Bali as *medjiwa*. Players in Uganda know it as *mweso*, it is *mancala* in Egypt and *mangala* among the Nubians, to the Bongo it is *toee* and to the Niam Niam of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan *abangah*. The Fans of French Equatorial Africa call it *kale*; in Kenya it is *bao*, *bau*, or *mbau*. Other names by which it is known are *isafuba*, *wari* (or *warri*), *walya*, *kubuguza*, etc.

<sup>13</sup>The number of holes should logically be sixteen instead of the usual twelve, since each of the ancestral deities is twofold, being both male and female.

<sup>14</sup>Marcel Griaule, "L'arche du monde chez les populations nigériennes," *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, XVI (1946), 123.

Probably the best example of allegory in connection with the playing of a board-game is that in the romantic Norwegian poem known as *Frithiof's Saga*. Frithiof, the hero, is the son of Thorsteinn, who is a brother-in-arms of King Bele. Both Thorsteinn and Bele die, and Frithiof and Ingeborg, the daughter of Bele, are placed under the care of Hilding, in whose home they grow to love each other. Bele is succeeded by his two haughty sons, who hold Frithiof inferior by birth and therefore presumptuous in daring to love their sister. They publicly reject his suit for her hand, and Frithiof retires to his estate, filled with bitterness against his sovereigns. Shortly after, a war breaks out between Bele's sons and King Ring. Frithiof's skill in battle is now sorely needed, and Hilding is sent to ask his aid. On arriving, Hilding finds Frithiof playing *hnefatafl* with his boon companion Björn.<sup>15</sup> Frithiof continues to play while Hilding states his errand and tries to induce him to come to the aid of the kings. The allegorical answers of the hero to the messenger's alternate pleas and threats are addressed not to Hilding but to Björn, as illustrated by the following stanzas:

Hilding qvad: "Från Beles söner,  
Kommer jag till dig med böner,  
Tidningarne äro onde,  
Och till dig står landets hopp."

/Hilding quoth: "From sons of Bele  
Come I now to thee beseeching;  
Full of evil are the tidings,  
And to thee the country looks."/

Frithiof qvad: "Tag dig till vara,  
Björn, ty nu är kung i fara.  
Frålsas kan han med en bonde,  
Denn är gjord att offras opp."

/Frithiof quoth: "Be wise and wary,  
Björn, for now the King's in danger;  
Sacrifice a Pawn and save him,  
Pawns are made for sacrifice."/

<sup>15</sup>*Hnefatafl* became obsolete in Iceland soon after the introduction of chess (c. 1300). Murray regards the later *Tablut* of the Laplanders as identical with it; see *A History of Chess*, p. 445.

"Frithiof, reta icke kungar,  
 Starka växa örnens ungar;  
 Fast met Ring de aktas svaga,  
 Stor är deras makt met din."

/"Frithiof, rouse not Kings to anger  
 Sturdy grow the eaglets' pinions;  
 Though 'gainst Ring their force be feeble,  
 Mighty is their power to thine."/

"Björn, jag ser tu tornet hotar,  
 Men ditt anfall lät jag motar.  
 Tornet blir dig svårt att taga,  
 Drar sig i sin sköldborg in."

/"So my castle, Björn, thou threat'nest!  
 Fearlessly I wait the onset;  
 Not so easy is its capture,  
 Defended by my trusty men."/

When Hilding fails to comprehend the allegory, Frithiof gives his answer in plain words:

"Rid att Beles söner lära  
 Hvad jag sagt; de kränkt min ära,  
 Inga band vid dem mig fästa,  
 Aldrig blir jag deras man."

/"Ride and tell the sons of Bele  
 What I've said; they scorned my friendship,  
 Broken are the bonds that bound us,  
 Never will I be their man."/16

<sup>16</sup>Fiske, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27. Esaias Tegnér, greatest of Swedish poets, used the incidents of this saga in the writing of his immortal poem of the same title.

## LOVE PHILTERS IN THE OZARKS

by  
Otto Ernest Rayburn

**A**PHRODISIACS OR PHILTERS intended to excite sexual passion are older than history and the word itself springs from Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and beauty, so called because she evolved from the foam (aphros) of the sea. Foam is a symbol of fury; an angry horse, a mad dog, foams at the mouth. It is strange that worldly love should have its origin in violence in contrast to the peace and sublimity of spiritual love, but it is one of the paradoxes of nature that defies explanation. The sparrow, the dove and the swan were sacred to Aphrodite. The flowers of her boudoir were the myrtle, the poppy and the rose. The dove of peace seemed out of place in her household, but the myrtle, rose and poppy are all flowers of passion. This Greek goddess, the Roman Venus, was the ideal of graceful womanhood and it seems almost vicious to link her with erotomania. It is hard to understand how nature came to place refreshing food and poison, all on the same platter for man's consumption.

The belief in the efficacy of certain artificial means of inspiring and securing sexual love was prevalent from very early times; love charms and love potions were known to the Greeks and Romans and various devices of this nature are still in use in Asiatic countries. The idea was also prominent in Anglo-Saxon lore and was carried to the Ozarks by the first settlers. Vance Randolph in *Ozark Superstitions*<sup>1</sup> lists a number of ingredients used as love philters. For example, the fat found on a rabbit's kidneys in the fall of the year was considered to be a specific for sexual debility. Another was a tea made from snakeroot (*Cimicifuga*). It did a better job when mixed with whiskey. It was widespread belief in the old days that a man who "lost his manhood" would die within a year so it was natural for the hillman to turn to aphrodisiac means when he felt himself slipping.

The Ozarker had, and still has, great faith in the root of the wild ginseng as a specific for prolonging life and increasing sexual power. The pronged root itself seems to be a symbol of virility. Chicken hearts, swallowed raw in one gulp, were thought to give a woman increased sex appeal. Love potions were said to be popular in the old days

1. (New York, 1947) p. 112.

in the Ozarks. Druggists sold a perfume mixture of milk sugar and flake whiting which probably had no more aphrodisiac power than a spoonful of flour, but it was supposed to arouse sexual passions. Love charms worn by girls consisted of carved peach or cherry seeds containing a perfumed soap-like substance, or a small portion of the root of the lady's slipper or moccasin flower. (Cypripedium). The leaves of the mistletoe were thought to have the ingredients for powerful "love medicine." Other feminine means, used to lure the male of the species, were wearing yellow garters and carrying turkey bones or the beard of the wild gobbler concealed in the clothing. If these things failed, the amorous maiden could soak her finger nail trimmings in a glass of whiskey and give it to her lover to drink, If that didn't turn the trick she might as well give up and start looking elsewhere.

The use of love philters had a positive approach, for the most part, but there were a few "don'ts" to be considered. One of them was never to comb the hair after dark. The superstition is that the practice will make a woman lose her sex appeal as hinted in the old saying:

"Comb your hair after dark,  
Comb sorrow into your old man's heart."

*Eureka Springs, Arkansas*

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls.* By WARREN E. ROBERTS.  
Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1958. (*Fabula*, Supplement-  
Serie B: Untersuchungen Nr. 1)

This monograph shows what can be accomplished in the comparative study of a folktale by using slight modifications of the historic-geographic method adapted to the peculiarities of the type. Dr. Roberts' thorough research has already been recognized by its being awarded the Chicago Folklore Prize for 1954.

A short review cannot do justice to the arranging of evidence for the various traits and relationships of this tale (Aarne-Thompson Type 480). Careful reasoning is supported by full tables giving the available versions of the tale and its narrative elements. Dr. Roberts has been especially meticulous in his study of the important subtypes.

The main conclusions he reaches about the actors and episodes of Type 480 are that the main actors are a stepdaughter and a real daughter, while an old woman meets the girls, assigns them tasks, and rewards or punishes them. The heroine pursues an object that either falls down a well or is carried away by a river. This episode furnishes outstanding variants of the type: "the fall into the well" in both Northern and Southern Europe with traces in the Near East; "following the river" in Southern Europe, the Far East, and, modified, in Africa. The good girl is kind to the animals, plants, or things met on the journey, while the bad girl is unkind to them; the girls are properly rewarded or punished. These encounters are widespread, from Northern Europe to Japan, but no longer exist in the Near East. The girls must do household tasks in many versions. The Scandinavian development provides helpful animals at the house. When offered a reward, the heroine chooses a small, ugly box that turns out to contain gold; the bad daughter, choosing the large, attractive box, finds it full of snakes.

The current evidence suggests the origin of this archetype occurred in the Near East before 1400 and passed to Northern Europe through the area between the Black and Caspian Seas. With an introduction of the rolling cake, added in Turkey, the tale passed as far as Sweden and Finland. The archetype also disseminated through India to Japan. When it migrated to Africa, it was considerably changed, producing

among other versions the development applied to Anansi, the trickster hero.

Before 1500 a new redaction, the Following the River subtype, follows the older form in many respects but makes standard the introduction of the girl pursuing an object carried off by a river. This form spread through the Orient and Southern Europe, with some narrative changes especially in the rewards and punishments, probably added when this version served to introduce a tale like "Cinderella." Other special forms have arisen within the area of diffusion, many of them being brought to the New World, where they have been discovered in the storytelling traditions of the French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Germans, Norwegians, and Africans. As usual, the storytellers have had their way in altering the tale to suit their needs and tastes, and each environment has left its stamp on the details of the plot.

J. RUSSELL REAVER

*The Florida State University*

*Dog Ghosts and Other Texas Negro Folk Tales.* By J. MASON BREWER  
Illustrated by John T. Biggers. Austin: The University of  
Texas Press, 1958. xiv, 124 pp. \$3.95

It is refreshing to find that Dr. J. Mason Brewer is so interested in the traditions of his people that he has published a volume of more than sixty of their folk tales told by nearly forty tellers ranging in age from twenty-one to ninety-seven years. All are set forth in the East Texas negro dialect of the originals. The book is divided into five sections of comparable length under the following headings: Slavery and Its Legacy, Carefree Tales, Tales of Animal and Ranch Life, Religious Tales, Dog Ghosts and Other Spirits. In these stories we find master and slaves, farmers and ranchers, simple field hands, and just everyday people of no particular distinction all woven into the fabric of an interesting cultural group.

A few of the tales are gentle reminders that the negro is fully aware of his besting at the hands of the white man, and that he accepts the latter's domination ruefully, perhaps, but with a degree of tolerance and humor that speak well for his character. "The Greatest Negro Leader" and "Rope Costs Money" show a deep understanding of that by-gone day when it was said that the two races "understand

each other"—the meaning of the verb in this instance being only too well understood by both.

However, this is not a bitter book, nor does it dwell heavily on matters pertaining to race relationships. By far the majority of the tales are about the negro's life within his own group. One gets the feeling that the characters who appear are leading what they deem to be satisfactory lives, that they are really making a go of things. Obviously, some have been quite successful. Almost all show a love for life for life and an ability to meet its problems with fortitude, and at times even with a certain detachment.

As would be natural, considering the number of informants, the tales show considerable variety. One wonders from what oral tradition some of them may have been derived. "Why the Rabbit Has a Short Tail" is certainly reminiscent of Kipling and Joel Chadler Harris. "The Test Question", which is "Where was Christ Born?", I have heard told on Pennsylvania cities. When the interlocutor has corrected two incorrect replies and has revealed that the answer is "Bethlehem", the one questioned replies: "Well, I knew it was somewhere in Pennsylvania." Under the same formula the answer to the Texas version is "Palestine." "Uncle Jerry and the Ship of Faith," in which the protagonist almost miraculously escapes certain death when the lion facing him springs over him landing on the shark pursuing him and killing it, certainly parallels Baron Munchausen's similar predicament. In "The Hays County Courthouse Janitor", Uncle Sug, who achieves a degree of material success in life after being dismissed from his job because of his illiteracy affirms that if he had learned to read and write, he would still be holding the low-paying job of courthouse janitor. W. Somerset Maugham's "The Verger" which has the same plot, suggests a common source for both.

The chief merit of many of these tales is not their humor, which is often a little thin, but the fact that, to this reviewer at least, they bear witness to the way of life of a distinct cultural group which despite the proximity of the patterns of a larger group, possibly even because of the limitations and restrictions placed on it by the latter, has for many years been turned in upon itself and has kept intact many of its traditions and relationships.

"The Goliad Liars" is of the tall-tale variety, as is "Myra Jackson's Sweethearts", a tale of three suitors each completing an impossible task to win Myra's hand. The latter would seemingly require

a magical helper in each of the three cases, as in the European tradition, but in this story each suitor takes unto himself the magical powers needed under the circumstances and completes his task with ease.

Quite a number of the tales not included in the section on ghosts do have elements of the supernatural. "The High Sheriff and His Servant" and "Old John Blow-out" are colorful fantasies of the master-slave relationship. Of the interesting group of ghost stories featuring those of the white dog said to be the spirit of a dependent relative who returns in time of danger to protect a loved one from harm, "The Saturday Night Fiddler" seems to me to have a deep spirituality shining through the portrayal of a life difficult in the extreme with little to relieve its pathos. One can't help having a tender feeling for any spirit that would watch over a little boy left unprotected in a warehouse for the night by a strolling fiddler, his brother and only living relative, who is desperately poor must earn a living as best he can.

My long association with folk tales and anecdotes told in South Carolina gives me the strong feeling that the tales in Dr. Brewer's book are completely authentic in tone and spirit. The dialect as presented is easy to understand and seems quite close to that of the negroes of lower Richland County. The twelve full-page drawings by Dr. John T. Biggers certainly add to the attractiveness of the volume.

As in the case of *Word on the Brazos* Dr. Brewer has achieved not only a readable and thoroughly entertaining collection of negro folk tales, but he has made a really significant contribution to the preservation of a rich cultural heritage.

GEORGE C. S. ADAMS

*Wofford College*

*The Rainbow Book of American Folk Tales and Legends.* By Maria Leach. Illustrated by Marc Simont. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1958. 319 pages. \$4.95.

Maria Leach again publishes an attractive book on folklore, aimed rather at the general public than at the professional folklorist. The selections are varied and very numerous, the format of the book is delightful and the illustrations, whether in black and white or in colors, are lively, interesting and very eye-catching. For the convenience of the true folklorist she has not forgotten to present an adequate set

of notes and a good bibliography. The volume should be interesting to the layman as well as the professional.

Miss Leach treats the theme of folklore and shows what folklore means to her. She does so clearly and well, and if all folklorists do not agree with her in every respect, this should not reflect upon her work.

The book is divided in eight main sections which bear the following titles: *You've Heard About . . .* (containing such items as Paul Bunyan and Pecos Bill); *State Lore* (in which each state is treated with pertinent folkloristic facts given about each); *Bad Men* (for example, Billy the Kid and Railroad Bill); *Tall Talk* (tall tales on Icebergs, Spring Flood, etc.); *Strange Tales* (The Ghostly Hitchhiker and the Yellow Ribbon, for example); *Screams* (tales and dialogues ending in screams some of whose titles are Oh, Deary Me, Miss Jenny Jones, and You'd Scream Too); *Local Legends and Popular Tales* (Lovers' Leaps, The Phantom Ship of the Hudson, and Why Lizards Can't Sit, to name only three of the twenty-four selections); *Other American Folk Tales* these are tales from various areas and ethnic groups—The Songs of the Animals [Coast Salish], for example.

Miss Leach may reach more adults than children in this book, if this reviewer's children and his neighbors' are likely subjects of experimentation. This may be due to the fact that a good proportion of the selections are commentaries by the author rather than actual tales or legends. In many cases this cannot be avoided, but in others, where tales have grown up, they might have been more attractive than the commentary. By and large, however, this reviewer finds little to criticize adversely in *American Folk Tales and Legends* as a book published for the general public.

J. E. KELLER

*University of North Carolina*

*The Illustrated Book of American Folklore.* By BEN BOTKIN and CARL WITHERS. Illustrated by IRV DOCKTOR. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1958. 101 pages. \$3.95.

This extremely attractive book with illustrations well-calculated to catch and hold the attention of adult and child alike, contains some excellent offerings. There are no less than one hundred and eighty selections and these are presented in a smooth and readable English. Died-in-the wool folklorists may object to this, for there is very little of

authentic folk speech, but the general reader will prefer the presentation to more difficult, if less authentic handling. The selections are divided into the following sections: *Read-aloud Stories, Wonder and Enchantment, Talking Animals, Bag of Tricks, Catches, Teasing, and Nonsense Tales, Tall Tales, Jests, Riddle Stories, Scary Stories, Fables and Parables, Heroes and Strong Men, and Rhymes*. Some of the old favorites (e.g. Jack and the Bean Stalk, The Tar Baby, and The Three Fools) are included, but there are a great many tales, fables, riddles, etc. that will be new to the average reader. Botkin and Withers have made a most delightful and comprehensive selection and Irv Doctor's illustrations will not soon be forgotten.

Lest readers of this review shy away from the book due to the statement made about the book's being presented in good English and not in true folk speech, a quote from the authors' introductory remarks follows:

"Most of these stories, rhymes, and riddles are from original versions collected by folklorists. Many of them are printed here exactly as heard and reported. For the sake of clarity and simplicity we have made occasional changes in words or sentence structure. For the same reason we have modified dialect, without sacrificing idiom. Where we have retold or abridged stories, we have been careful to preserve essential content. We have freely adopted, from various sources, a few of the hero legends. All adaptations are indicated in the Title Index and Notes."

Folklorists whose articles, collected tales, and general contributions were used number such well-known names as Ralph S. Boggs, Herbert Halbert, Richard Chase, and J. Mason Brewer, to name only a few.

*The Illustrated Book of American Folklore* should do much to introduce the uninitiated to the joys of folk literature and to offer an interesting and pleasant presentation to those who have been long familiar with this literature.

ROBERT W. LINKER

*The University of North Carolina*

*Things That Go Bump in the Night.* By LOUIS C. JONES. New York: Hill and Wang, 1959. xii-208. \$3.75.

Lovers of tales of ghosts and the supernatural will enjoy this lively book. Folklorists will find it interesting and valuable, but not pre-

sented as a technical and professional collection of tales. Dr. Jones is a professional folklorist and has taught courses in folklore for a number of years. He knows the place of the supernatural story in folklore and he links the many stories—there are over 200 in the book—with folklore. The volume is, however, aimed at the general public, is cleverly illustrated, well written, even charmingly written.

The book is divided into six chapters which can best be described by giving their titles: I. Introducing the Dead; II. Why They Return; III. Haunted Houses; IV. Violence and Sudden Death; V. Haunted History; and VI. The Ghostly Hitchhiker. Each chapter treats its subjects as a kind of attractive report, allowing the stories to appear without title as the report or discussion progresses.

Many of the stories have become a part of American folklore and will be recognized by the folklorists.

Specialists will find of some value the section entitled "Notes and Sources" which offers a brief bibliography and some treatment of the various tales as to source, publication in journals, etc.

Dr. Jones has included stories he has heard from friends, members of his family and from informants in various walks of life. He has used also many gathered by his students. *Things That Go Bump in the Night* certainly has a place on the shelves of all those—professional and otherwise—who feel a fondness for the supernatural.

JOHN E. KELLER

*University of North Carolina*

*Lithuanian Folk Tales.* Compiled and edited by STEPAS ZOBARSKAS. Illustrated by Ada Korsakaite. Gerald J. Rickard, Brooklyn 1, N. Y. 1958. X and 200 pages.

A well-known Lithuanian writer presents here to the English reading public a well-chosen selection of 36 Lithuanian folktales which, according to Balys's classification (pp. 197-198), fall into the following groups: 3 animal tales, 14 magic tales, 2 romantic tales, 2 tales of the stupid devil, 6 realistic tales and jokes, 2 formula tales, 7 legends. The task of selecting and translating was not an easy one, especially in view of the strangeness of the cultural surroundings of the tales to the English or American reader. Most frequently, the difficulties were solved by circumvention, by omitting such passages or by

modernization. A special problem was that of proper names. On p. 61, we find the Lithuanian names *Elenytė* and *Jonukas* which are diminutives of the Christian names *Helen* and *John*. Here no translation or adaptation was attempted, apparently because the translator wanted to preserve the Lithuanian sounds. However, no reader unfamiliar with the Lithuanian language will be able to pronounce these names in the proper Lithuanian way. In the first story of the collection ("Egle, the Queen of Serpents"), the name *Eglė* is a Lithuanian common noun meaning 'fir tree'. It is left untranslated. However, the other tree names occurring in the same tale as names of persons (Oak, Ash, Birch, Poplar) are given in English. The Lithuanian common nouns for oak, ash, and birch are of masculine gender and are here used as proper names for male persons, while Lithuanian *eglė* is feminine and here used as name of a woman. Her daughter is called *drebulė* 'aspen tree', also a feminine noun, in this collection wrongly translated as 'poplar', this in spite of the popular saying 'to tremble like an aspen leaf'.

An example of unsatisfactory word-for-word translation occurs on p. 7, where Egle is told by her husband to bake a 'rabbit pie' for her brothers and their children, since it is not nice to go empty-handed. 'rabbit pie' here translates the Lithuanian expression *kiškio pyragas* which is not a pie made of rabbit meat, but any kind of 'baked goods used as a present' and brought home by persons who have been away or brought by visitors to the people visited. Cf. Senn-Salys, *Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache*, III (Heidelberg, 1957), p. 100.

In general, however, the translation is quite satisfactory and makes good reading.

On pp. 191-196, a scientific appendix by Jonas Balys is added. It consists of "Explanatory Notes" (191-196), a classification of the tales (197-198), and a selected bibliography (199-200). This part contains some valuable information, but leaves also much to be desired. On p. 193, it is stated that the tale "Egle, the Queen of Serpents" (pp. 1-12) is translated from an edition of folk tales of 1905. Actually, the translation was made from the collection *Tautos pasakos* published by A. Giedrius in 1928, with a second edition entitled *Pasakos* in 1930, neither of them listed in Balys' "Selected Bibliography." In the 1905 version, the snakes appearing in the home of the parents as the representatives of the bridegroom obtain the girl in one single visit, while three visits are necessary in Giedrius' version

and in Zobarskas' translation. Both Lithuanian versions are reprinted in my *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache*, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1957), pp. 26-33, where additional information about the origin of the tale can be found.

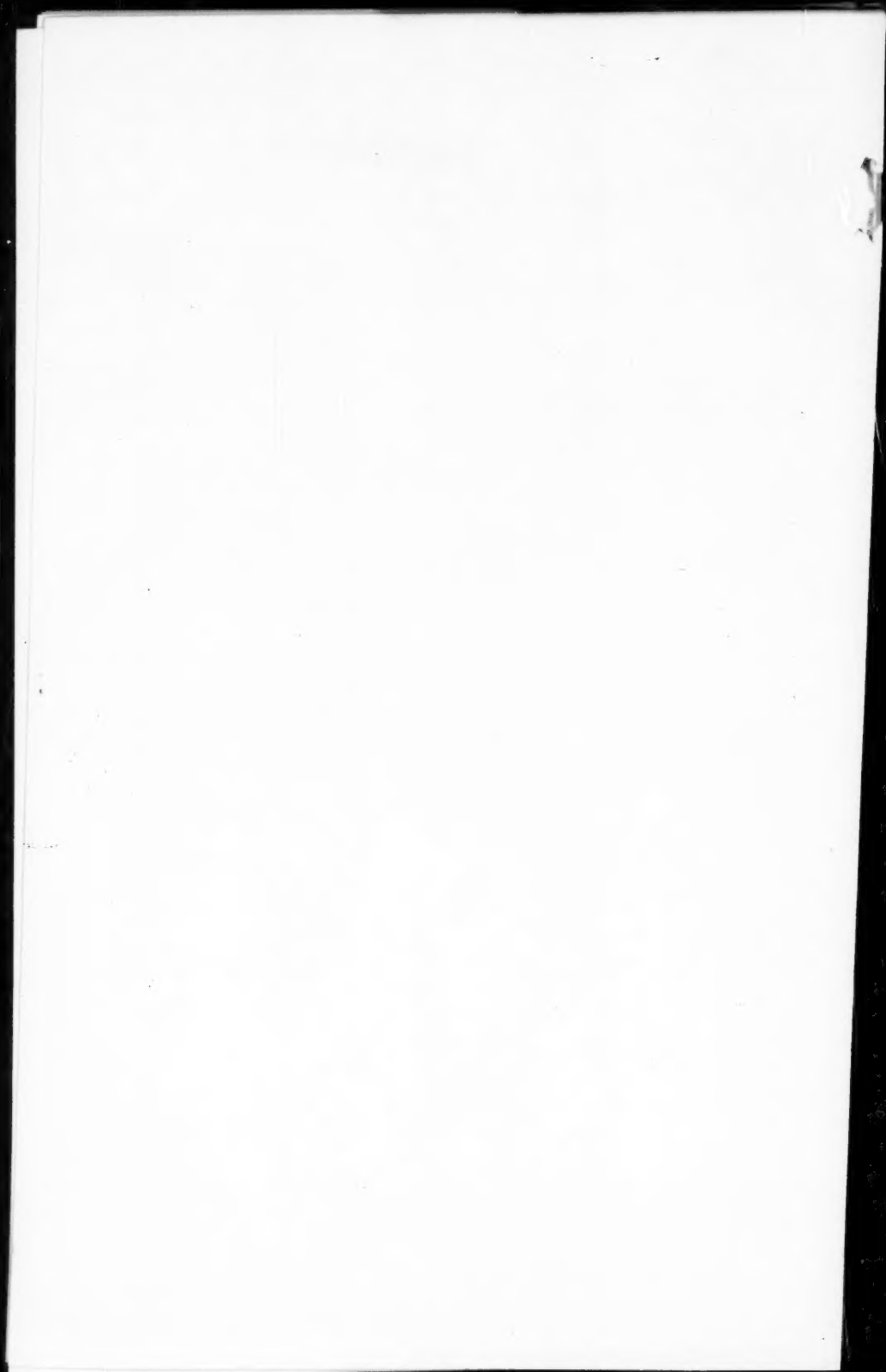
The "Selected Bibliography" includes German and French collections of translated tales, but omits a good number of the original Lithuanian collections for which cf. my above-mentioned *Handbuch* l.c., p. 24. This omission is in contradiction to Balys' own postulate (p. 196), namely, that, for scientific purposes, one should use the original texts of folklore.

On p. 196, Balys points out an example where the translation got too far away from the original. In the original a snake was coiled up in the sleeve of the girl's shirt, while in the English translation "the youngest girl saw a serpent coiled upon her blouse in the grass." Balys states correctly that "In those old days a blouse was unknown to the country people, and the Lithuanian women wore long shirts with sleeves." By the way, our readers should be told that the expression "in those old days" quoted here does not refer to anything more remote than the end of the nineteenth century. The change in the text, prompted by an urge to modernize the tale, resulted in a new "motif".

Balys claims that only one tale, namely, "Why the Sun is Red," bears clear traces of literary creation. Actually, the same is true also of the tale "Egle, the Queen of Serpents", as can be seen from my own above-mentioned edition.

ALFRED SENN

*University of Pennsylvania*





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